

VOL. VI.

PLATE XVIII.

Fragment of the Surcoat of WILLIAM, EARL OF ALBEMARLE.

WILLIAM DE FORTIBUS, third Earl of Albemarle, married, to his second wife, Isabel, sister and heir of Baldwin de Ripariis, or Rivers, Earl of Devon. He died at Amiens in the month of June, 1260, (44 King Henry III.) and was buried in England.

Mr. Doubleday is in possession of the fragment of a surcoat of this Earl of Albemarle, which, at the time it came into his hands, served as a bag to contain a great seal of King Henry III. It consists of a coarse lining, on which fine linen has been laid; and on this are worked, with coloured linens sewed on, and embroidery, coats of arms; in the centre is a shield, displaying, Or, a lion rampant azure, Rivers; on each side a cross patonce vairé, Albemarle.

This fragment, of which a fac-simile is given, in all probability is the oldest relic of the kind now existing in this country.



*Seal of William de Fortibus, Earl of Albemarle, affixed to
his confirmation of the exchange of lands made by his ancestor
the first Earl William, to Roger de la Hude.*

Charta pence Ioh. Regis Ricardi.



Fragment of the Surcoat of William Earl of Albemarle & Hon. III.

Presented by the Society of Antiquaries of London 1888

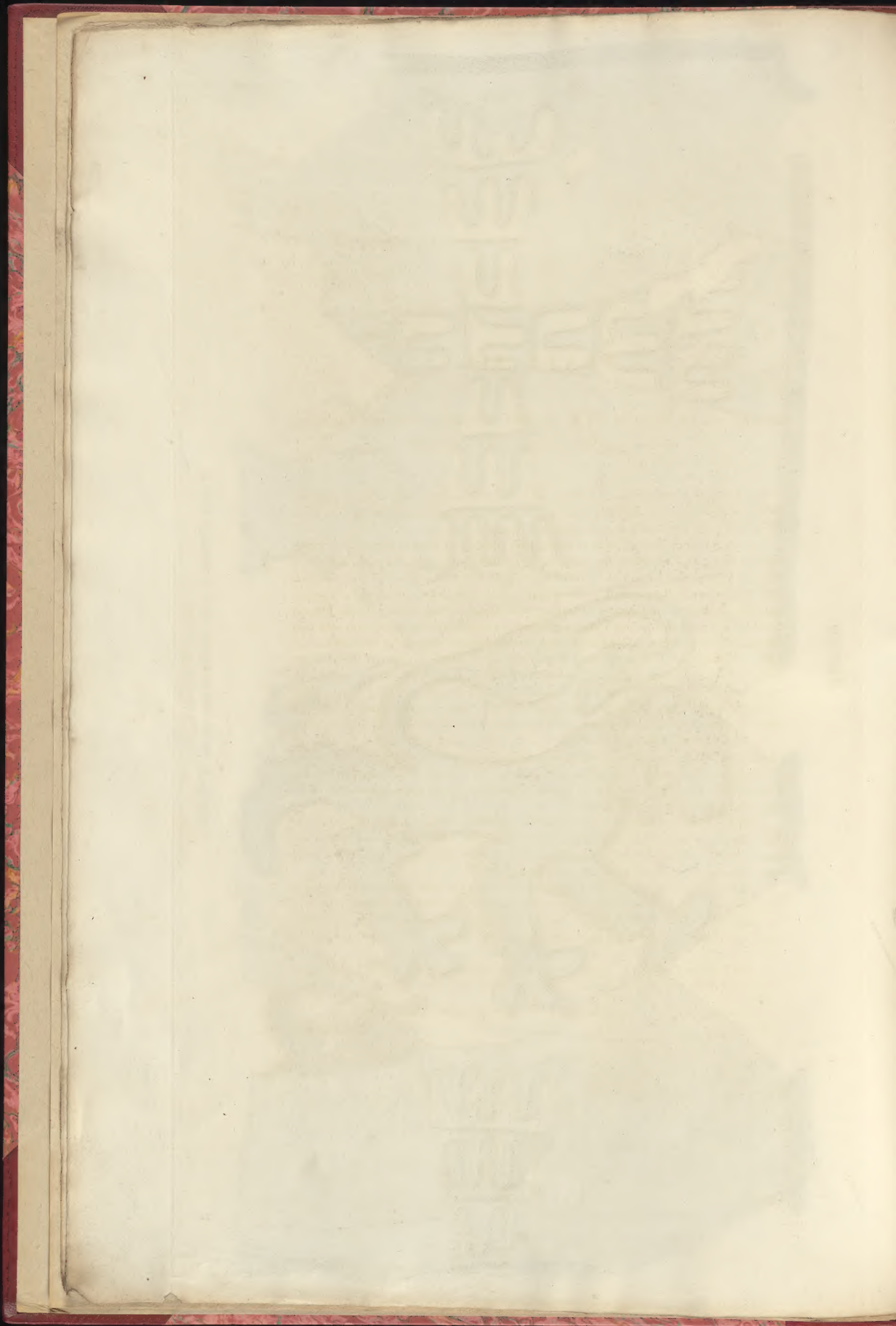


PLATE XIX.

*Description of a BRONZE ARM, an Irish Reliquary, from the Collection
of the late SIR ANDREW FOUNTAINE.*

THE ARM, the subject of Plate XIX. in this volume, was exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries in 1829 by Andrew Fountaine, Esq. of Narford in Norfolk, from the collection of his grandfather, Sir Andrew Fountaine.

It is engraved to the full size of the original; and is of brass or bronze, the hand, which is riveted to the arm at the wrist, being inlaid, in the nails, the palm, and at the back, and round the wrist, with silver. The upper end of the arm is also ornamented with the same metal, and with a row of bluish-grey stones resembling the calcedony, and there appears to have been a second row of stones above the other. Riveted across the centre of the arm is a broad band with knots in relief; and down the arm are four flat narrow fillets, at equal distances, riveted, having inscriptions in Irish characters upon them. Nearly the whole of the arm, as well the silver parts as those of bronze, are ornamented with various engraved figures, mostly knots and scroll work; and at the upper end, between the rows of stones, are represented animals.

Covering the root of the arm was fastened by four pins a circular cap, the face of which is inlaid with silver, the centre having mosaic work surrounded by silver filigree.

The ornaments generally resemble those on many of our ancient crosses, some of which bear Runic inscriptions; and there is a similarity between some of the ornaments on the arm and those on silver objects noticed in the twenty-seventh volume of our Transactions, found at Sevington in North Wilts, with Saxon pennies, part of which were of the end of the ninth century.

Within the metal case described was one of wood up to the wrist, doubtless the depository at an early time of some sacred Christian relic. Reliquaries of this form are not uncommon in Roman Catholic countries, and an early example of the kind is to be seen in the treasury of the minster at Aix-la-Chapelle.

Smith, in his History of Cork,¹ speaking of a brazen arm, formerly preserved at Donaghmore, says, "The patron saint was named St. Lachleen; and some years ago, the parish priest kept here a brazen hand as an holy relique, by which the people swore on solemn occasions, but this hand was removed by one of the titular bishops of Cloyne."

Mr. Crofton Croker, to whom the Society is indebted for the passage quoted,² is of opinion that the arm here engraved may have been the reliquary formerly at

¹ Vol. i. p. 176.

² Letter addressed by Mr. Crofton Croker to the Treasurer of the Society.

Donaghmore, which appears to have been removed thence at the time when it is said to have come into the possession of Sir Andrew Fountaine.

Sir William Betham, Ulster,¹ writes thus respecting the inscriptions: "The Inscription on the Bronze Arm is so much defaced and mutilated that I feel very reluctant at attempting even a guess at its import as a whole, but I have no hesitation in the endeavour to decypher so much as is still legible, and even to supply, or attempt to restore, some portion of what is nearly obliterated. The inscription undoubtedly is Irish. The plates on the upper or thicker part of the arm, which are less injured, I read as follows:—

1. Op do Cade nio M(hreacrao)is do p[ri]s * * * *
Pray for Teig, the son of Murcoirtach, for the king;
2. do Da[?]m[?]or nio meo Ce[m]ne do Ce[n]la * * * *
for Dermot, the son of the son of Dermie, for Conla;
3. do M[?]el[?]re[?]ch[?]n[?]a nio H[?]enn[?]an[?]do ind p[ri]s * * * *
for Maelsachna, the son of Naennacnain, the king;
4. (b) do Chom[?]ac nio meo Ce[?]p[?]th[?]o[?]is i Oim * * * *
for Cormac, the son of the son of Carthy, * of Dom * * * *

The remainder of the fourth line is very probably do[?] mun[?]e[?]n, or Desmond, of which Mac Carthy was king.

"The absolute obliteration of the other portion of the inscription on the small part of the arm, or the wrist, render the above unintelligible as a whole, although I have little doubt that the meaning, as given above, is correct.

"The line marked No. 1. upon our arm is that at the thumb side of the hand, where, certainly, the inscription commences in the usual manner, Pray for, &c. The second line is at the back of the arm; the third on the little finger side; and the fourth on the middle of the palm side. The character of the letters is like those of most ancient Irish inscriptions of this kind, as well as in our MSS. and I should fix it to the seventh or eighth century. I have lately seen an inscription on an ancient crozier in the same character, which is, however, very perfect, from being protected by its position within a cavity. I have seen examples of all the ornamented figures traced on the arm, upon other ancient Irish bronze articles, as well as in our old MSS. on vellum."

¹ Letter addressed by Sir William Betham to the Treasurer.





PLATES XX.—XXV.

Remarks on the LOUTERELL PSALTER, an Illuminated Manuscript of the first Part of the Fourteenth Century. Communicated by JOHN GAGE ROKEWODE, ESQ. Director, in a Letter to the EARL OF ABERDEEN, President.

[Read 6th June, 1839.]

MY LORD,

THE LOUTERELL PSALTER, so valuable for the illustrations it affords of English manners and customs during the first part of the fourteenth century, is a thick folio on vellum, measuring 14 inches by 10, and contains 309 leaves, beside a fly leaf at each end. The text, of which a fac-simile is given in Plate I. is black letter, nearly half an inch long, each page having fourteen lines. The margins, throughout the greater portion of the Manuscript, are variously painted, many with foliage, and a mixture of grotesque figures of men and animals, some with chivalrous subjects, and others with domestic and rural scenes and sports. The gold used in the initial letters, and in other parts of the Manuscript, is solid, and often diapered or dotted in burnished patterns. Some silver is also used in the decorations.

Prefixed to the Psalter is a Calendar, which occupies the first twelve folios of the book; the Feasts named in it are not numerous, but the names of the English Saints prevail, shewing the English origin of the Manuscript. The following Obits have been inserted in the Calendar:—

Januarius iij Id. Obiit^o Alianore Lancast Comitisse Arondellie A°. Dni M°ccc°LXXII.

xvi Kⁱ. Februarij. Obitus Humfridi de Bohun Comitis Herefordie A°. Dñi M°ccc°LXXV.

ix Kⁱ. Feb. Obitus Ricardi Comitiss Arondellie A°. Dni M°ccc°LXXV.

Apriliis vij Id. Obiit Dña Joha de Boun Cōtissⁱ H'ford, Essexⁱ Norhⁱnton A°. Doi. M°cccc°ix.

xv Kⁱ Julij. Obitus Alianore Dñe La Warre.

David's Psalter begins folio 13. "Beatus vir qui non abiit in consilio impiorum," and the initial letter contains a representation of the Royal Psalmist playing on the harp; the Psalter concludes, folio 259 v. with the 150th Psalm, "Laudate Dominum in Sanctis."

Fol. 259 v. The Canticles follow, of Isaiah, Hezekiah, Anna, Moses in Exodus, Habakkuk, and Moses in Deuteronomy.

Fol. 273 v. The Hymn, "Te Deum Laudamus."¹

Fol. 275 v. The Song of the Three Children, "Benedicite omnia opera."

Fol. 277. The Canticle of Zachary, "Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel."

Fol. 278 v. The Song of Our Lady, "Magnificat."

Fol. 279. The Song of Simeon, "Nunc dimittis."

Fol. 279 v. The Athanasian Creed.

¹ The Hymn, Te Deum Laudamus, is generally ascribed to Saints Ambrose and Augustin. In a Sarum Psalter, printed by Richard Fynson, without date, it is called "Canticum Beati Niceti Episcopi," on the authority of Cassiodorus.

Fol. 283 v. The Litany, which contains the names of several English Saints. It differs in some of the names and prayers from the ordinary Litanies, printed in the Sarum and York Rituals, and does not agree entirely with the Roman Litany.

Fol. 296. The Antiphons, Lessons, and Responses, with the Music, of the Office for the Dead, at Vespers and Matins.

The Psalter was one of the books which by the Constitutions of Robert Winchelsey, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Walter Grey, Archbishop of York, the parish was required to provide; and, generally speaking, our MS. copies will be found to contain, more or less, the matter contained in the Psalter described. Sometimes the office of the Holy Cross, and of the Holy Ghost, or the Hours of the Blessed Virgin, or the entire Office for the Dead, were added to the Psalter.

The use of the Psalter was, that the parish incumbent, with his deacon and subdeacon, or assistants, might sing from it, on Sundays and chief festivals, the Matins, Vespers, and Hours required. The priest himself used his Portiforium, which corresponds with the present Breviary; the Cantors used the Psalter. In the division of the Breviary, the priest begins on Sunday at Matins with Psalm 1, and ends on Saturday with Psalm 108. At Vespers he begins at Psalm 109 and proceeds regularly through the remaining Psalms during the week: every day, however, two or three Psalms are omitted, because they have been adopted, as more appropriate, for other parts of the service; but these are so distributed that they occur during the week, and would accomplish, unless interrupted, as at present, by doubles or semi-doubles, what was desired by the Church of Rome, namely, the recitation of the whole Psalter of David in the course of the week.

In our MS. the Psalterium is not divided into services, but the printed Sarum Psalters have substantially the same division as the Breviary.

The Latin Psalter was first printed in this country in 1499. It has a Kalendar prefixed, and at the end of the Psalms are the Canticles. Colophon:—*Impressum apud Westmonasterium per me Wynandu' de Worde, Anno Dn'i M,cccc, lxxxix. xx die Maii. folio.* Another edition was printed in 1502.¹

According to Ames, the "*Psalterium et Hymni in usum ecclesiæ Sarum et Eborac,*" appeared from the press of Richard Pynson in 1505, in quarto. We have not met with a copy of this edition; but there is in the Bodleian Library an octavo Latin Psalter (with the Hymns appended), imperfect at the beginning. Colophon:—"*Impressum per Richardum Pynson (Regiu' impressorem).*" In this book the Psalms of David and the Canticles are divided for the service of each day in the week. The same order of service occurs in the "*Psalterium cum hymnis sc'dm usum et consuetudinem Sarum et Eboracen'*," printed at Paris, in 1506, for William Bretton, of which there is a copy in the Gough Collection in the Bodleian; and in both these books the Psalms of David and the Canticles are followed as in the Louterell MS., by the Te Deum, the Symbol of St. Athanasius, and the Litany. In the latter Sarum Psalter also occur the Matins and Vespers for the dead, beside various prayers, and under the heading "*Hieronimus de laude Psalterii*," we read, "*Psalterium fuit ter translatus a beato Hieronymo. Prima translatio dicitur Romanum Psalterium; secundum Psalterium Gallicanum; et tertium Psalterium Hieronymi. Secundum est magis usitatum quod nos habemus in prologo.*"

Mr. Charles Butler, in his *Horæ Biblicæ*,² speaking of the biblical labours of St. Jerom, says, "He began by correcting the Psalms; but the people at large, being accustomed to their old version, could not be induced to lay it aside in favour of St. Jerom's. He

¹ Ames, by Dibdin, vol. II. pp. 82, 100.

² *Horæ Biblicæ*, London, 1807, p. 207.

therefore

therefore published another edition. In that he made few alterations in the text itself, but shewed by obeluses and asterisks, where it differed from the Septuagint or the Hebrew. From this last edition and the old Italic is formed the Vulgate edition of the Psalms, which is now used in the Roman Catholic Church. St. Jerom's original correction of the Psalms never came into public use."

Zaccaria,¹ noticing these two versions (the third being St. Jerom's translation from the Hebrew), writes "*Illam Romanam vocant, quod Romæ præsertim in usu fuerit; hanc, Gallicanam, quod hujus versionis Psalterium in Gallias, finitimas que Germaniæ ecclesias, inductum, atque hinc ad alias etiam Italiæ ecclesias propagatum.*"

The Psalms in the Louterell manuscript correspond with the Gallican version, which was generally adopted in this country. The Roman Psalter continues to be used in the Vatican and some few other churches.²

In the Latin Sarum and York Psalter, printed at Paris in 1522, for Francis Byrckman, the intonation is shewn of the antiphons. The music also occurs in other subsequent editions.

David's Psalter, according to the Gallican version, with an Anglo-Saxon version interlined, was published in 1640 by Sir John Spelman, from a manuscript in the library of his father Sir Henry Spelman. In 1835 Mr. Thorpe published, from a manuscript in the Royal Library at Paris, his "*Libri Psalmorum Versio Antiqua Latina; cum Paraphrasi Anglo-Saxonica partim soluta oratione partim metricè composita.*"

But, let us return to our manuscript, the illuminations of which claim our particular notice. Our first attention must be directed to fol. 202 v. where at the end of the Psalms for Matins, and before those for Vespers, occurs, as part of the text, the name of the personage for whom the Psalter was executed.

On's Galfridus Louterell me fieri fecit.

The magnificent knight appears in a miniature, below, preparing for a tournament: he is seated on horseback, in mixed armour, having on his head a gilt conical skull-cap with the camail attached, elbow pieces, ailettes and gauntlets; genouilleres, greaves or shin plates, and spurs with large rowels; and a surcoat without sleeves, richly belted, over his hauberk of mail. His surcoat and ailettes, and the silk housing and crest of his horse, and the burr and cantle of his high saddle, are all emblazoned with the arms of Louterell, Azure, a bend between six martlets Argent, and are faced or lined red. A lady is presenting the knight with a gold jousting, or close conical, helmet, and with her left hand supports his banner; the crest of the helmet, and the banner, both bear his arms, and the crest described stands between two long spikes, fixed on each side, which remind us of the helmet of John de St. John, Lord of Hannak.³ On the surcoat of the lady are the arms of Louterell impaling Or, a lion rampant Vert, Sutton. At the head of the horse stands another lady, who holds the shield of Louterell; she wears a rich maunch or hanging sleeve, and upon her surcoat are the arms of Louterell impaling Azure, a bend Or, a label Argent, Scrope of Masham.

The coats of Louterell, Sutton, and Scrope, occur in other parts of the manuscript.

Sir Geoffrey Louterell, or Luterell, of Irnham,⁴ in the county of Lincoln, after the

¹ Bibliotheca Ritualis, lib. I. c. 4, p. 97.

² Vide the Psalterium Romanum ad usum Cleri Basilicæ Vaticanæ—Thomasius, 1683; and the edition of this Cardinal's works by Blanchini, Romæ, 1741; also Sabatier Bib. Sacrorum Latinæ Versiones Antiquæ seu Vetus, Italica Opera D. Patri Sabatier, Ordinis Sancti Benedicti e Congregatione S. Mauri, Parisiis, 1751, tom. II. Liber Psalmorum.

³ Vetusta Monumenta, vol. I. plate XXX.

⁴ The Honourable Charles Clifford, the present owner of Irnham, is the lineal descendant of Hawisia, sister and heir of Geoffrey, son and heir of Andrew Louterell the younger.

decease of his father Sir Robert,¹ in the 25th Edward I., made proof² of his age, showing that he was born and baptised at Irnham, on the vigil of Pentecost 1276. He was in the wars with the Scots during the reigns of Edward I. and II. and had summons to the general Council at Westminster in the 19th year of the latter King.³ His wife⁴ was Agnes, daughter of Sir Richard de Sutton, and it appears that so late as the year 1333, long after issue born between them, the parties obtained from the Archbishop of York, under letters from Pope John XXII. a dispensation for the marriage on the grounds of consanguinity within the prohibited degrees. Sir Richard de Sutton was of Warsop⁵ and Sutton-upon-Trent, in the county of Nottingham, and bore for his arms, as appears by the Roll of Arms⁶ of Knights of the reign of Edward II. "De Or a un lion rampaund de Vert." In his family the barony of Dudley⁷ vested by marriage with the coheir of Somery. There was issue of Sir Geoffrey and Agnes three sons, Sir Andrew Louterell, Geoffrey, and Robert; and a daughter, Isabella. In 1319 the families of Louterell and Scrope of Masham formed a double alliance, the two eldest sons of Sir Geoffrey Louterell being matched, one with Beatrix, the other with Constantia, the daughters of Sir Geoffrey Scrope. This, we may remark, is another example to be added to the singular instances given by Mr. Stapleton, in his Plumpton Correspondence⁸, of early sponsalia; for in the present case all the parties contracting marriage were children. Sir Andrew, the eldest of the two sons, was hardly seven years of age, and both the ladies were perhaps younger; since their brother, Sir Henry Scrope, the first of the five sons of Sir Geoffrey Scrope, was not born before 1315.⁹

By a fine levied at Westminster¹⁰ in Michaelmas term 13 Edw. II. Sir Geoffrey Louterell, with license from the Crown,¹¹ settled his manor of Hooton Paynel in remainder expectant on the decease of himself and Agnes his wife on his son Andrew and Beatrix his wife in tail, remainder to Geoffrey, the brother of Andrew; and Constantia his wife, in tail. And by another fine¹² in the same year, the manor of Irnham was settled in a similar manner, with the exception of a limitation for life to Agnes. According to Thoroton,¹³

¹ Inq. post mortem Roberti Luterel, 25 Edw. I. n. 35.

² Prob. etatis Galfridi Luterel, Plac. 25 Edw. I. m. 12.

³ Palgrave's Parl. Writs.

⁴ Dispensacio pro Dom. Galf. de Luterell et Agnete uxore ejus, filia Dom. Richardi de Sutton milit. 15 kal. Feb. 1333, 8 Edw. III. Ex Regist. Will. de Melton, Archiep. in curia Prerog. apud Ebor. fol. cccxxiii. It appears from the letters of Pope John XXII. set forth in the instrument, that the parties were married in the house of Sir Richard Sutton, per verba de presenti; consequently the marriage had been bought by him, and both the contracting parties must have been of the age of consent.

⁵ Inq. ad quod damnum 1 Edw. II. n. 112, on the settlement by Sir Richard de Sutton, of Warsop in Nottinghamshire, and Theydon in Essex, on his son John de Sutton and Margaret his wife. There remained to Sir Richard the manors of Eykering and Sutton and other lands in Nottinghamshire, Kegworth in Leicestershire, which was of the inheritance of Isabella his wife, Burgwardote in Berkshire, and Aston in Northamptonshire.

⁶ Edited by Sir Harris Nicolas.

⁷ Dugdale's Baronage.

⁸ By the canon law, children might be contracted in marriage at seven years of age; or when they came to the use of reason, an addition which encouraged parents to contract them earlier. They were contracted in *facie ecclesie per verba de futuro*, and thus became *sponsi*, but not *conjuges*. The ceremony was called *Sponsalia*, but was not the Sacrament of matrimony. This was the first marriage spoken of p. c. and the wedding, p. lxiv, in the Plumpton Correspondence. After the male was fourteen, and the female twelve, they were *habiles ad contrahendum per verba de presenti*, and then became *conjuges*, having ratified their former promise. It was then *matrimonium ratum*, and considered a sacrament: when they lived together it became *matrimonium consummatum*.

⁹ Inq. post mortem Galfridi Scrope, 14 Edw. III. n. 35, when Sir Henry, his son and heir, was aged 25.

¹⁰ Fin. 13 Edw. II. de term. Mich. com. Ebor. lig. 4.

¹¹ Rot. Pat. 13 Edw. II. m. 17. License for Sir Geoffrey Louterell to enfeof Guy Louterell with the manors of Hooton Paynel and Irnham to the uses above expressed.

¹² Fin. 13 Edw. II. de term. Mich. com. Linc. lig. 3.

¹³ History of Nottinghamshire, p. 63. Ex Lib. Cart. transcript, de terris Scropor. in Bibliot. Cotton. fol. 3. Dodsworth, (A. A. cxvii. fol. 3.), who transcribed portions of this MS. speaks of it as "penes Rob'tum Cotton, mil. a^o. 1609, modo in manibus Dⁿⁱ Gulielmi Howard, a^o. 1614."

Beatrix,

Beatrix Louterell, and Constantia her sister, are described as daughters of Sir Geoffrey Scrope, in a deed dated at Irnham, upon the first Sunday after Trinity, 13 Edw. II. under which Sir Geoffrey Louterell settled his manors of Gamleston and Bridgeford, in the county of Nottingham, then held for life by Joan, late wife of Sir Robert Louterell, to uses similar to those expressed in the fine above recited of the Irnham property.

Sir Geoffrey Louterell died upon Monday the morrow of the Holy Trinity 1345, having survived Agnes his wife, who died on Monday next after the feast of St. Barnabas, five years preceding the decease of her husband, and leaving Sir Andrew Louterell his son and heir, aged 32 years.¹

Sir Geoffrey made his will² at Irnham on the 3rd April 1345, ordering his body to be buried in the chancel of the church of Irnham, and giving for his mortuary his best horse with the harness of war, as was befitting. It was his will, that on the day of his burial, and on the seventh, and thirtieth day, two hundred pounds should be distributed among the poor: that on the day of his burial twenty pounds be spent in wax to be burnt round his body, forty shillings be paid to the clerks saying the Psalter, and one penny for the offerings of every person celebrating for his soul in the church of Irnham. And as a provision against the meeting of his friends on the day of his burial, twenty quarters of wheat were to be allowed for making bread; and twenty quarters of malt for brewing ale; and twenty pounds laid out in wines, spices, and other things necessary for the kitchen. And he directed that twenty chaplains should celebrate for his soul for five years after his decease in the church of Irnham and have five hundred marcs, that is to say, one hundred marcs each year, and that the poor praying for him on his anniversary should have twenty pounds; bequeathing to the fabric of the church of Irnham five marcs, and to the beggars of the parish forty quarters of wheat; and bestowing many legacies on various other parishes, and churches, and religious persons, therein named.

He gave to his son Sir Andrew twenty marcs of silver, or jewels or plate of that value; and to the testator's son Robert, Knight Hospitaler of St. John of Jerusalem, ten marcs, willing that Guy Louterell, the testator's brother, and Thomas de Chaworth, should minister the same according to his wants. To the Lady Beatrix Louterell, wife of Sir Andrew his son, ten marcs. To the testator's daughter, the Lady Isabella, a nun in the house of St. Gilbert de Sempringham, five marcs; to his brother Guy Louterell, twenty marcs; to his sisters Margery and Lucy, nuns of the house of St. Mary de Hampole, forty shillings; to the Lady Joan de Sutton, nun of the same house, twenty shillings; to the testator's sisters Albreda and Elizabeth twenty shillings a piece; to Joan de Meaux, who had formerly been gentlewoman of his Lady, forty shillings; to Sir Robert de Wilford, his chaplain, twenty shillings; to William de Foderingeye, his confessor, five marcs for clothing; to Thomas de Chaworth of Osberton, his esquire, fifty marcs, over and above fifty marcs due to him on the testator's bond; to Alice de Wadnowe, gentlewoman of his chamber, five marcs; to his nephew John, son of Guy Louterell before named, five marcs; to Robert, Guy, and Thomas, brothers of the said John, and to Joan and Elizabeth, sisters of the same John, ten marcs a piece; to William de Chaworth, his chamberlain, forty shillings. And the testator, after bequeathing various sums of money and cloaks to his household, and legacies to other persons, gave the residue of his personal estate to his brother Guy Louterell, and Thomas de Chaworth his chief esquire, and appointed Sir Andrew Louterell his son, and the said Thomas de Chaworth, executors, and

¹ Inq. post mortem Galfridi Louterell, 19 Edw. III. first numbers n. 48.

² Liber Thomæ Beck Episcopi Lincoln. in curia Ep.

Guy Louterell, John de Busby, brother William de Foderingey, and Hugh Parson of Rouceby, joint executors, under the advice and assistance of William de Gaham of Nottingham and Hugh Martel of Clifton.

By a codicil Sir Geoffrey, after different bequests of plate or jewels to various churches, gave to Joan de Meaux, before named, his bed, with the furniture and all things belonging to his chamber, as was befitting. To William the porter, all the furniture of the hall, that is to say, "Dosser and Baunker;" to John de Colne all the utensils and pewter vessels of the buttery; to John de Brigford the cook, all the vessels and wooden things belonging to the kitchen, beside legacies to other persons.

The testator's seal, together with those of the executors, are stated to be affixed to the will; but because their seals were not known to many, the executors had procured the official seal of the Dean of Belstislow to be added on the day and year above written, that is to say, on Sunday next before the feast of St. Ambrose,¹ 19 Edw. III.

Neither Geoffrey Louterell, the son, nor Constantia his wife, are mentioned in the will of Sir Geoffrey, and their names do not occur in any evidence we have seen subsequent to the 13th Edw. II., unless in a recital of the father's settlement set forth in his inquisition; we therefore conclude that the marriage between Geoffrey and Constantia was never consummated, and that he died without issue in the lifetime of his father.

In 1350, the year of the Jubilee,² Beatrix Louterell obtained the royal license³ to go with her chaplain to Rome, being accompanied by many persons from Lincolnshire. Her younger brother Geoffrey Scrope was Prebend of Hather, belonging to Lincoln, and in one of the windows of the church are his arms, and this inscription:⁴

*Orate pro a'ta Galfri le Scrop Prebendarii hujus
Eccl'ie et pro a'ta Beatrix Leoutrell sororis ejus.*

After the decease of Beatrix without issue, Sir Andrew Louterell married Hawisia, daughter of Sir Philip le Despenser of Gousell, in the county of Lincoln, which marriage was subsisting in 1362.⁵

In the Scrope and Grosvenor controversy, this Sir Andrew was a deposing witness in 1387, and was then lying sick at his manor of Irnham, and states himself to be seventy years of age, though it appears by the inquisition on his father's death, that he was aged about 74. He died on Tuesday next before the feast of the Nativity of the blessed Virgin, 1390, leaving by Hawisia his wife, who survived him, Sir Andrew his son and heir, aged 26 years.⁶ In the church of Irnham is the tomb of Sir Andrew the elder.

¹ The feast of St. Ambrose, according to the Sarum Ritual, was kept on the fourth of April; according to the Roman, on the seventh of December.

² Knyghton sub anno 1350.

³ Rymer, tom. iii. p. 1. 57.

⁴ MS. Harl. 6829.

⁵ Peoffment dated on Sunday next after the feast of St. Matthew the Apostle, 36 Edw. III. of Gamleston and Bridgeford in Nottinghamshire, to the use of himself and Hawisia his wife, referred to in the inquisition taken at Nottingham, 14 Rich. II. (vide postea), on the death of Sir Andrew Louterell. Hawisia was sister of the third Sir Philip le Despenser of Gousell: vide his will in the History of Suffolk, Thingoe Hundred, p. 8.

⁶ Inq. post mortem Andreæ Loterel, sen. chevalier, 14 Rich. II. n. 32. Vide also Inq. post mort. Andreæ Loterel, chev. fil. Andreæ, 21 Rich. II. n. 37. In the 1 Hen. IV. after the death of Sir Andrew Loterel the son, it was found by an inquisition held at Doncaster, that Andrew Loterel the elder, kn't. deceased, being seized in his demesne of Hooton Paynel, in the county of York, married Hawisia, daughter of Philip le Despenser, knight, which lady was then living, by whom there was issue Andrew their son; that Andrew the elder, with license from King Richard, gave the manor to Andrew his son and Joan his wife in tail; that Andrew the elder died 6 September 14 Rich. II.; that Andrew the son was seized, together with Joan his wife then deceased; that Andrew the son died the last day of December, 21 Rich. II.; that the manor descended to Geoffrey, son and heir of Andrew, son of Andrew, within age, and in ward to the King, who gave the wardship to Oliver de Stanley, who granted it to Henry Green, knight; that the said Geoffrey was the next heir of Andrew Loterel son of Andrew, and was of the age of fourteen years and upward. Escheat, 1 Hen. IV. n. 27.

These details sufficiently prove that the miniature described is intended to represent Sir Geoffrey Louterell of Irnham and Agnes his wife, and either Beatrix or Constantia, one of their daughters in law, most probably Beatrix. We are thus led to an important conclusion, namely, that this manuscript, being executed in the lifetime of Agnes, the wife of Sir Geoffrey Louterell, bears date prior to the year 1340; and from the fashion of the armour of the knight, and the costume of the ladies, as well as from other illustrations of the Psalter, it is not unsafe to conjecture, that the manuscript was executed some years earlier.

This memoir is accompanied with engravings of a selection of subjects from the manuscript before us, arranged under different heads, in six plates, as follows:

PLATE XX. CHIVALRY. Fig. 1. The miniature of Sir Geoffrey Louterell before described, of which another fac-simile may be seen in Carter's "Ancient Sculpture and Painting."¹ Fig. 2. The Fame of the Louterell family. A man is seen with an air of ludicrous importance bearing the Louterell banner, while another, seated and looking on with wonder, holds the helmet, exhibiting, as a burlesque, a pair of bellows on his head. Fig. 3. The banner of Serope borne by a trumpeter. Fig. 4. The achievement of Sutton. Fig. 5. A joust. The knights are both clad in pourpointrie, with mixed armour; the victor has a streaming cointise on his close conical helmet, and the vanquished displays a Saracen's head on his shield. Fig. 6. St. George and the dragon, a burlesque. Fig. 7. Hawking. Fig. 8. The tournament of ladies. A castle is seen defended by ladies against a host of knights; one lady on the highest tower, with a scarf flowing from her high-pointed cap, is manfully blowing an enormous trumpet from which hangs a banner; while the others at their different posts are showering down roses upon the besiegers. A knight is merrily tumbling off a ladder from the blow of a rose which has carried off his jousting helmet; another, in a basenet, with his vizor up, is trying to get in at the gate, and with his head turned round, is laughing at his companions; a third is using a cross-bow; the rest are maintaining an eager contest, sword in hand, all in pourpointrie with surcoats and using mail hoods or helmets.

Although this joute d'amour brings to our imagination the sieges of the Chateau de la Joieuse Garde in the Roman de Lancelot du Lac, and of the Chateau de Bel-accueil in the Roman de la Rose, we look in vain in the Romances for the shower of roses from the belligerent ladies on the heads of their besieging lovers.

In a chanson of the celebrated Hue d'Oisy, a trouvère and knight of the first part of the thirteenth century, we have a tournament of ladies; but it is a real combat of ladies armed cap-à-pie, where the party overthrown acknowledges herself to be vanquished.

Diez, in his "Leben und werke der Troubadours," noticing a poem by Rambaut de Vauqueiras,² in which he speaks of a

— "Mala guerra
Sai volon comensar
Donas d' esta terra,
E vilas contrafer;
En plan' o en serra
Volon ciutat levar
ab tors;"

says, it is probable the actual performance of a tournament of ladies may have suggested

¹ This miniature is more faithfully coloured in Mr. Bohn's recent edition of Carter's works.

² Printed by Raynouard, tom. iii. 260, 8vo, Paris, 1816.

this allegory to the poet. For such a festival, according to the Italian historians,¹ actually took place at Treviso in the year 1214, and was probably not the first of its kind. On this occasion a castle of wood, covered with rich tapestry, was garrisoned by two hundred ladies of the highest rank, who, instead of helmets, wore golden crowns, and instead of armour, splendid robes. The besieging party consisted of young knights no less richly attired, and the only arms employed were flowers, fruits, and bon bons. This rare festival attracted crowds of spectators.

The Chateau d'Amour, or Castle of Roses, was a favourite subject with the artists of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In the 16th volume of our Transactions will be found a bas-relief in ivory representing the triumph of the knights over the castle of the ladies. In the Doucean Museum, belonging to Sir Samuel Meyrick, are two caskets of ivory of the time of King Edward II. upon which are carved the details of the siege of the Chateau d'Amour. "In the left compartment," says Sir Samuel, describing one of these objects,² which has on the sides various bas-reliefs from the Romances, "is the Castle, with ladies on the battlements hurling down roses on their assailants, and, near the gateway, an angel (or Cupid?) shooting with a long-bow at a knight, who has his cross-bow charged with a rose. A knight is scaling the walls with a rope ladder, while two others are employed with a trepid loading it with roses, that by the force of this projectile they may make a decisive impression on the fortress. In the right hand compartment, the ladies are seen on the battlements and over the gateway, welcoming the knights, while two on horseback, in front, are about to engage two warriors completely armed, each party fighting with a bunch of roses. The centre compartment represents a joust, where one of the combatants has his shield charged with three roses. The two trumpeters are perched up in trees; and in an elevated box of trellis-work, here and there ornamented with hangings, appear those assembled to witness the entertainment." The bas-reliefs of the other casket from the Doucean Museum may be seen engraved to the full size in Carter's "Ancient Sculpture and Painting." In other collections, foreign as well as English, will be found works of art representing the subject under description.

Fig. 9. The state carriage, a covered waggon richly ornamented, drawn by five horses; a coachman or waggoner in a hood, with a long whip, rides the wheel horse, and on the second horse is a driver with a short whip in his hand, and a couteau at his side pocket. In front of the waggon sits a noble, or royal personage, with a squirrel on his shoulder. Ladies are looking out of the windows of the roof, and at the back of the waggon a lady is receiving the lap-dogs from attendants on horseback. All the ladies, as well as the noblemen, have coronets on their heads. The variety of costume of the attendants and waggoners is pleasing. Carriages of a similar description, with the windows in the covered roof, and rolled curtains, are used at this day in the Walloon parts of Belgium, and on the northern frontier of France.

PLATE XXI. THE LOUTERELL FEAST. Figs. 1, 2, 3, represent the preparations for the feast, where John de Brigford the cook and the rest of the household occupy their proper stations. Fig. 4. The Feast. The room is hung with arras, worked throughout with the arms of Louterell; Sir Geoffrey, in the centre of the table, with his family, has the cup in his hand, which he has just received from one, who in long sleeves, with an embroidered towel hanging over his shoulder, is serving on the knee: the two chaplains at table are clothed as Dominican friars, in white with black habits, and have the tonsure. Fig. 5. The family bag-pipe player. In the accounts of Eleanor, sister of King Edward

¹ Muratori Antiq. Ital. ii. 837.

² Gentleman's Magazine, April 1836.

the Third, wife of Reginald, Earl of Guelderland, occurs, "*Cuidam: menestrallo vocato Bag-piper, facienti menestralciam suam coram D'na Eleonora, per manus proprias, xij.*" Fig. 6. A game at tables.

PLATE XXII. DOMESTIC SCENES AND HUSBANDRY. Fig. 1. Carrying water on horseback, in skins. Fig. 2. Sheep-fold: on one side they are milking the sheep, and at another, women are carrying away the milk in pitchers on their heads. Fig. 3. Feeding Chickens. Fig. 4. Driving Geese; a youth has taken off his hood to scare the geese. Fig. 5. Ploughing. Fig. 6. Sowing. Fig. 7. Harrowing.

PLATE XXIII. DOMESTIC SCENES AND HUSBANDRY, *continued*. Fig. 1. Breaking the earth. Fig. 2. Weeding. Fig. 3. Reaping Corn. Fig. 4. Corn in the Sheaf. Fig. 5. Carting Corn. Fig. 6. Thrashing. Fig. 7. Going to the Mill. Fig. 8. Carding and Spinning.

PLATE XXIV. SPORTS AND PASTIMES. Fig. 1. Archery. Shooting at the Butts: this subject may be compared with the School for Practice in Strutt's "*Sports and Pastimes*," plate V. Fig. 2. Defence. Sword and buckler men: vide Brand's "*Popular Antiquities*," vol. ii. p. 203, and Strutt, plate XXVI. Fig. 3. Breaking pitchers, or trying which head is the hardest. Fig. 4. Wrestling. "*This pastime*," says Carew, in his *Survey of Cornwall*, "also bath his laws; for instance, of taking hold above the girdle;—wearing a girdle to take hold by;—playing three pulls for trial of the mastery," a passage which explains the subject delineated. Fig. 5. One person riding on the shoulders of another, in collision with a similar party; a species of wrestling described in Strutt, plate VI. Fig. 6. The Living Quintain: a man, seated on a stool, holds up one of his feet, opposed to the foot of another man, who standing upon one leg endeavours to thrust him backwards; the game is described in Strutt, plate XI. Fig. 7. Walking on Stilts. Fig. 8. Tricks with horses: a man receiving on his buckler the kick of a horse: vide feats of a similar nature in Strutt, plate XXIV. Fig. 9. Tricks with monkeys; making a monkey tumble over a stick: vide Strutt, plate XXIII. Fig. 10. Jugglers filling a man with water. Fig. 11. Bear-baiting. Fig. 12. Pole dancing or balancing; a man habited as a satyr, rattling a bladder that hangs at the end of a stick, rides astride a pole carried by two other men; a dog dressed up dances before them.

PLATE XXV. SPORTS AND PASTIMES, *continued*. Fig. 1. Pitch in the hole. Fig. 2. Bobbing for apples. "*It is customary*," says Brand, in his *Popular Antiquities*, "on this night (Allhallow Even) with young people to dive for apples, or catch at them when stuck upon one end of a kind of hanging beam, at the other extremity of which is fixed the lighted candle, and that with their mouths only, their hands being tied behind their backs." Fig. 3. Swing. Fig. 4. Game unknown. Fig. 5. Feat of agility, or jumping over a stick, the party at the same time holding his feet with his hands. Figs. 6, 7, 8, 9. Games unknown. Fig. 10. A view of Constantinople, with figures dancing to the tabor and pipe.

The MS., the description of which we have now completed, belonged to Lord William Howard of Naworth, as appears from his autograph at the foot of the first page of the Calendar, "*Will. Howard—Noward.*" This nobleman, younger son of Thomas Duke of Norfolk, and ancestor of the Earls of Carlisle, from his exploits as Warden² of the

¹ Collier's *Annals of the Stage*, vol. i. p. 14, from a MS. then belonging to Craven Ord, Esq.

² In Sir Cuthbert Sharp's "*Brief Summary of the contents of a Manuscript, formerly belonging to Lord William Howard, of Naworth*," will be found the Warden's list of the felons taken and executed by him during his abode at Gilsland.

Western Marches, against the Borderers, is commonly remembered under the name of Belted Will:—

"Belted Will Howard is marching here,
And hot Lord Dacre, with many a spear."

LAY OF THE LAST MINSTREL.

Though Lord William Howard justly deserves to be remembered as the civilizer of the Borderers, he must not be forgotten as a man of letters. Camden, in his *Remains*,¹ styles him "an especiall searcher of Antiquities, who equalleth his high parentage with his vertues." He was a great collector of books, and in 1592 published, from a MS. copy in his Library, the *Chronicle of Florence of Worcester*, with a dedication to Lord Burleigh. As a proof of his industry, among the Arundel MSS. is a transcript² in his own handwriting of the "*Liber de fundatione Cœnobii Sancti Jacobi Ap. de Waldena*;" and also a copy, perfected in parts by himself, of Roger Hoveden's *Annals*.³ Mr. Howard, of Corby, in his *Memorials*⁴ of the Howard family, speaks of manuscripts of his writing at Castle Howard, and one at Greystock, on the rights of the Dacre family. In the Cotton⁵ collection of letters are two from Lord William Howard, written in 1608, on sending some stones with Roman inscriptions to Sir Robert Cotton: these inscriptions, it appears from Roscarrock's correspondence with Camden,⁶ had been copied by his lordship, and furnished in the preceding year to that learned antiquary. Roscarrock, who was the author of the spirited verses prefixed to Bossewell's work of *Armory* in 1572, and who was long imprisoned in the Tower during the reign of Elizabeth, as a suspected harbourer of Catholic priests, seems in his old age to have found an asylum at Naworth. The library⁷ of Lord William Howard has been much dispersed, and his copy of *Florence of Worcester* now belongs to Trinity College, Dublin. In the "*Catalogi Librorum Manuscriptorum Angliæ*" is a catalogue of such of Lord William's manuscripts as in 1697 remained in the library of his descendant Charles, Earl of Carlisle; at that time the Howard family were not in possession of this Psalter; they had probably given it to the Widdringtons, with whom they were in alliance.

At the end of the Calendar of our MS. fol. 12. v. occurs "*Liber Nich. Scireburn ex dono Dom. Mariæ Charleton de Cartington An. Do. 1703.*" The name of Sir Nicholas Shireburn is also found in other parts of the MS. Lady Charleton, wife of Sir Edward Charleton, of Hesleyside, in the county of Northumberland, Bart. was daughter and coheir of Sir Edward Widdrington, of Cartington, in the same county, Bart., and mother of Catharine, wife of Sir Nicholas Shireburn of Stonyhurst, in the county of Lancaster, Baronet.

The initials of Sir Nicholas Shireburn are sunk on each side of the cover of the MS. which is bound in calf, with a border richly tooled and gilt, and coloured black and red. The MS. has been injudiciously cut in the binding.

On the death of Mary, Duchess of Norfolk, daughter and sole heir of Sir Nicholas Shireburn, the *Louterell Psalter* passed with the Shireburn property to the family of Weld, of Lulworth Castle, in Dorsetshire, descended from Elizabeth sister of Sir Nicholas Shireburn; and to Joseph Weld, Esq. the present representative of the house, we are indebted for the use of this singular MS.

I have the honour to be your Lordship's obedient humble servant,

JOHN GAGE ROKEWODE.

Rt. Hon. the EARL OF ABERDEEN, K.T., F.R.S., President.

¹ *Remains*, ed. 1614, p. 138.

² Arundel MSS. Mus. Brit. 29.

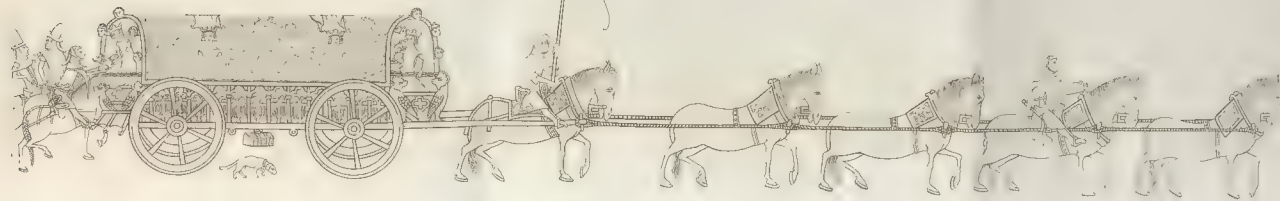
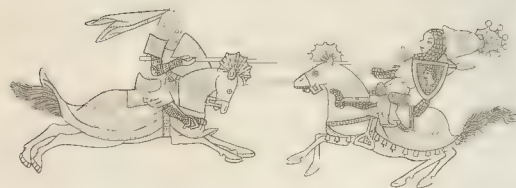
³ *Ibid.* 150.

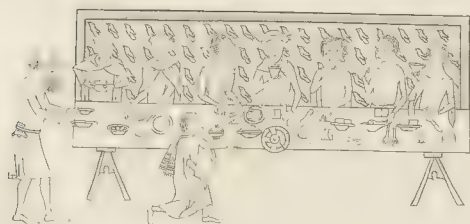
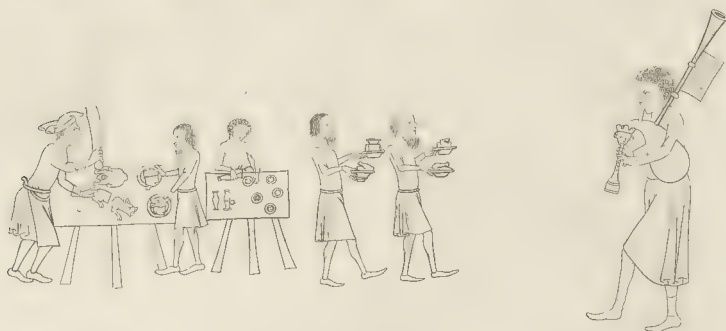
⁴ Page 71.

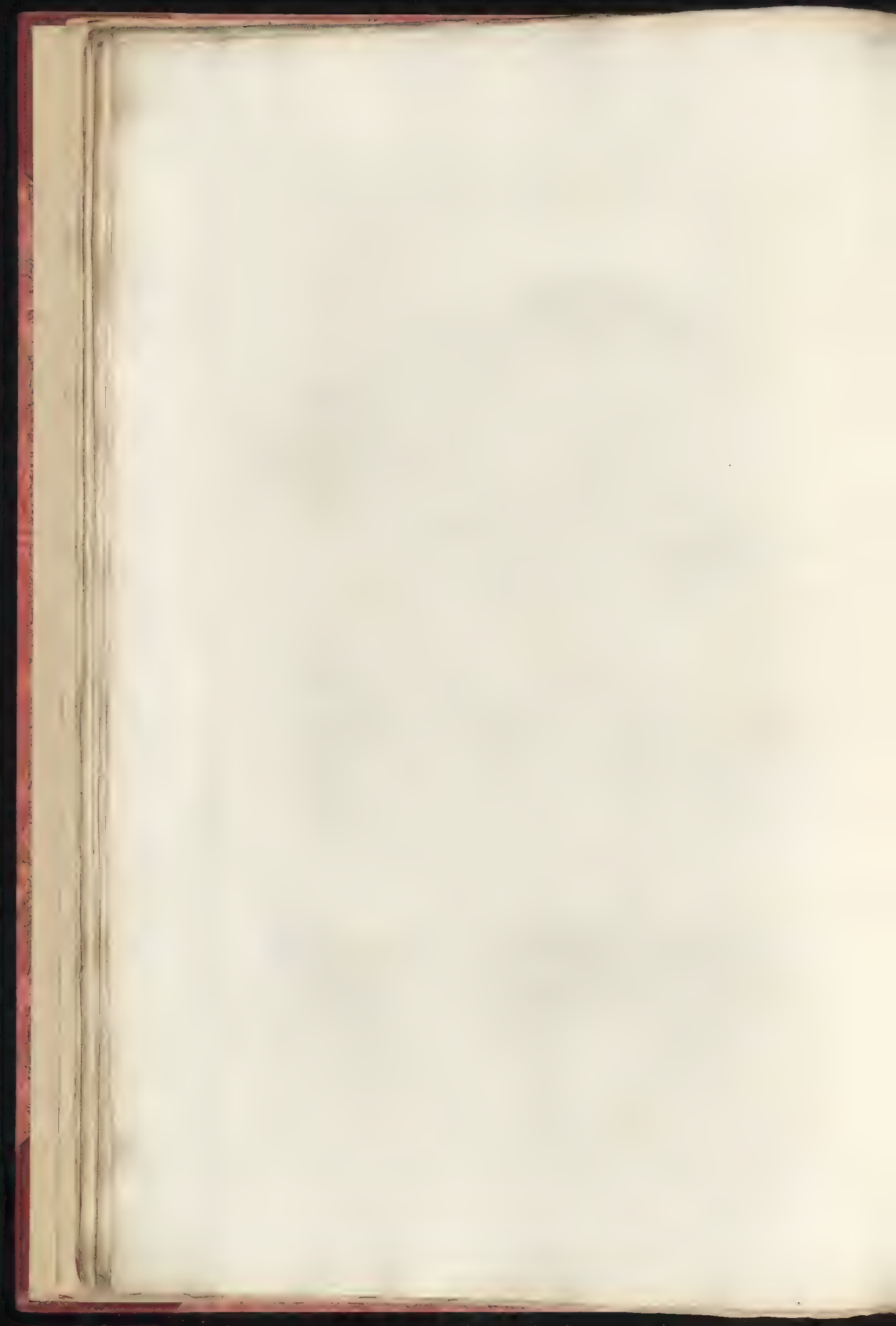
⁵ *Julius C.* III. 40. *Vespasian F.* XIII. 322.

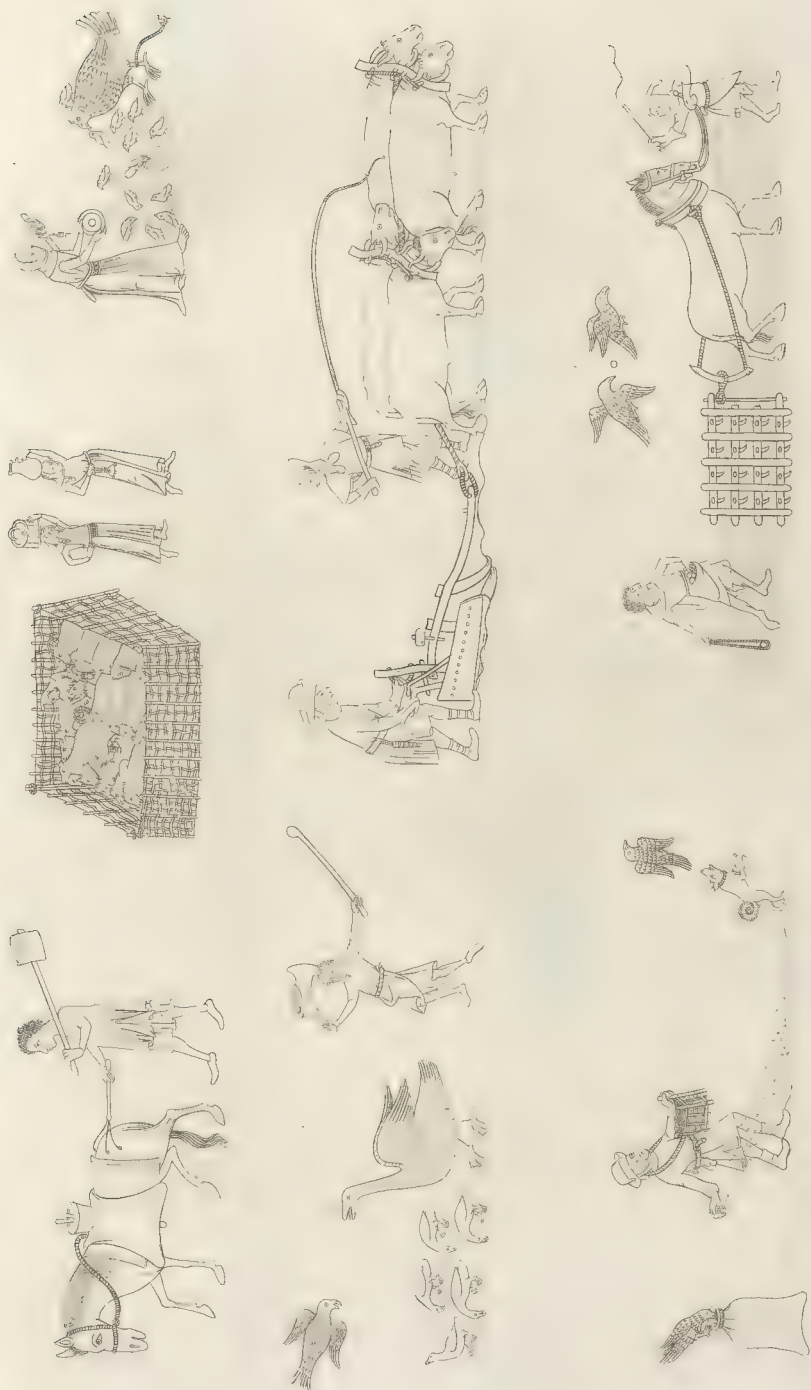
⁶ *Smith's Camden's Correspondence*, p. 92.

⁷ A Guide to Naworth and Lanercost, printed at Carlisle by Samuel Jefferson, 1839, contains an account of the printed books formerly a portion of the library at Naworth.









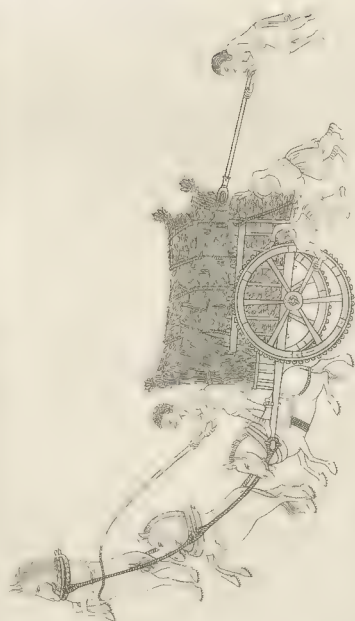
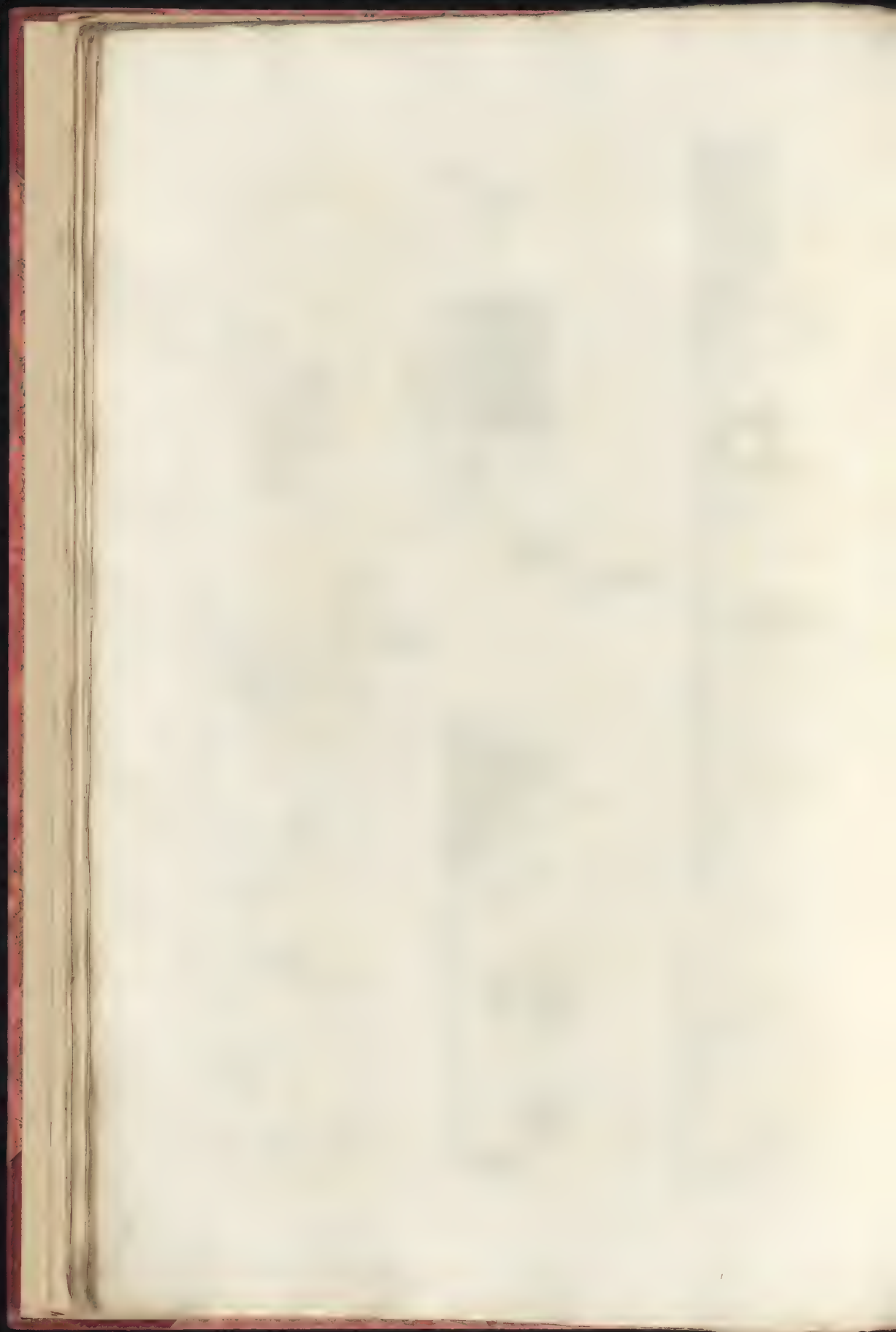
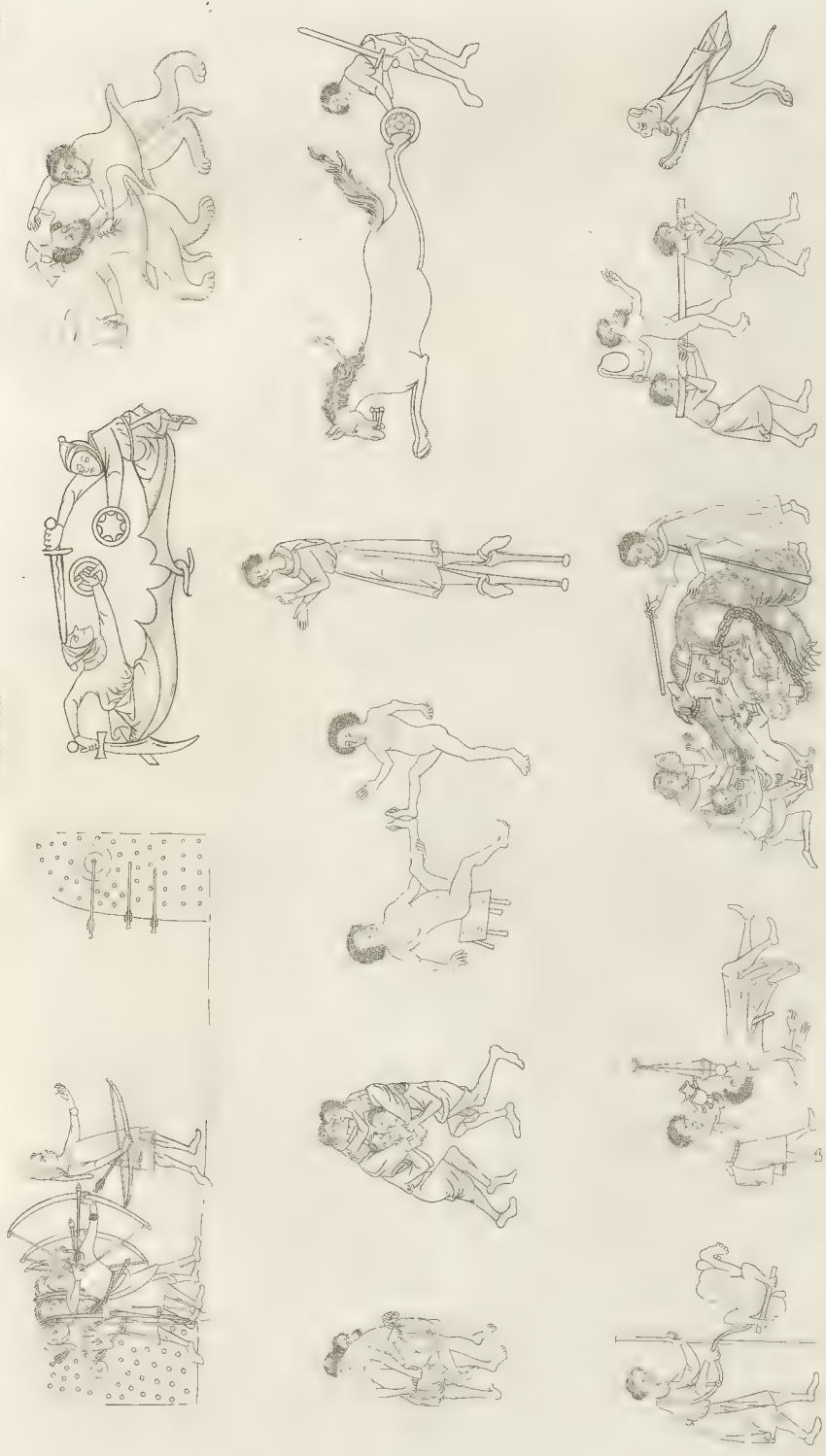
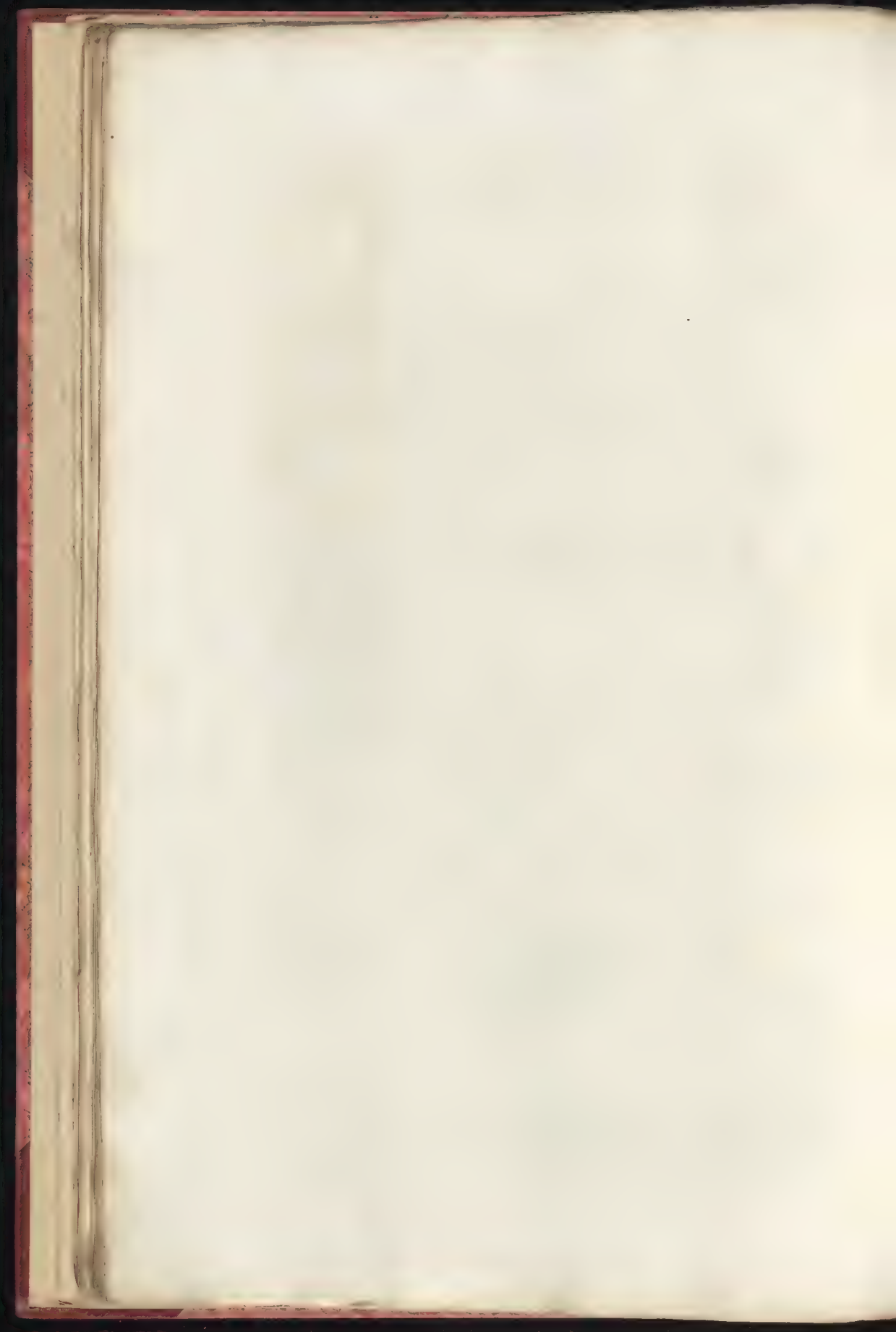


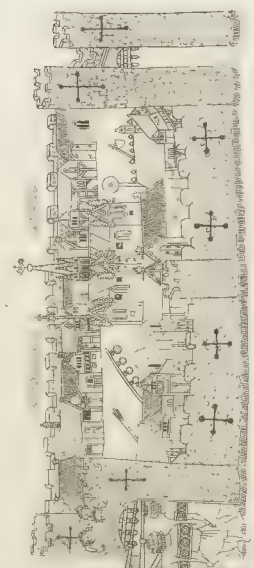
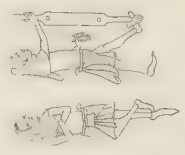
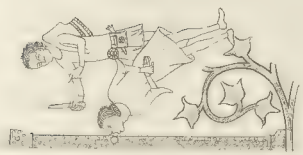
Illustration of a person sitting on the ground, surrounded by a large pile of hay or straw, using a long-handled tool to work with the material.

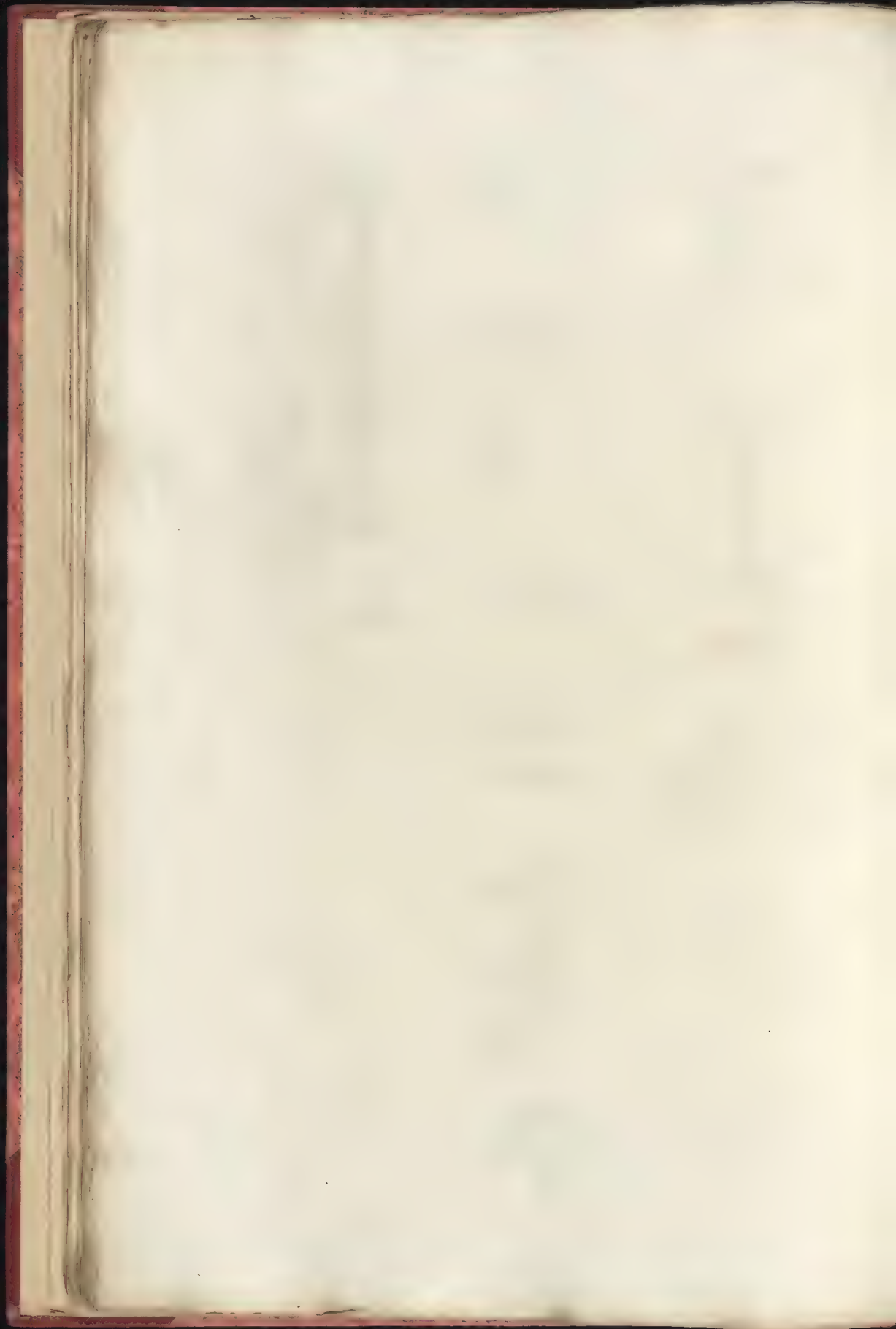




Human figures in various poses and activities.







V O L. VI.

PLATES XXVI.—XXXIX.

A Memoir on the PAINTED CHAMBER in the Palace at Westminster, addressed to the EARL OF ABERDEEN, President, by JOHN GAGE ROKE-WODE, Esq. F.R.S. Director, chiefly in illustration of Mr. Charles Stothard's series of Drawings from Paintings upon the Walls of the Chamber.

[Read 12th May 1842.]

MY LORD,

IN 1819, the Society of Antiquaries, with laudable zeal, employed the pencil of Mr. Charles Stothard to rescue from oblivion the fading remains of ancient paintings, disclosed in consequence of repairs, on the walls of the Painted Chamber in the Palace at Westminster; and the series of drawings now claiming our attention, was the fruit of his labour. On exhibiting the drawings to the Society, Mr. Stothard addressed to Sir Henry Ellis, a letter,¹ containing remarks, which will serve as the best preliminary observations we can offer on the present occasion:

"It was known," says Mr. Stothard, "as early as 1800, that paintings on the walls of the Painted Chamber existed, at the time St. Stephen's Chapel underwent extensive alterations; but it was not till the month of August 1819 that they were uncovered,"² in consequence of the repairs which were about to be made in the room. It then appeared that the subjects delineated upon the walls had suffered considerably by the thick coatings of whitewash with which they had been covered, and the recent damages made by the workmen of 1800. As I was absent from town at the time of these discoveries, not hearing of them, I did not reach the spot till the beginning of September. I then found considerable changes had taken place by the admission of air and light on some of the most interesting subjects which had been so long shut up. In consequence of the interest you expressed on the subject, I obtained at your hands an introduction to Colonel Stephenson, the Surveyor General, who warmly seconded my views, and afforded me every facility in the execution of my purpose, and I have to remark that that gentleman's care and attention to the preservation of these curious remains, forms a striking contrast with the former heedless devastation both in this place and St. Stephen's Chapel in 1800.

"The Painted Chamber receives its principal light from four windows; two at the east end, and two on the north side; of the latter, the head of one is circular, but the other three are pointed. It was discovered that five other windows had been stopped up,

¹ Read 15 June 1820.

² The walls to a certain height were covered with blue paper, and above that, to the cornice, with a thick coating of whitewash. *Notes by Mr. Stothard.* Vide a paper in the Gentleman's Magazine for the month of November 1819, entitled "Discoveries in the Painted Chamber."

two of them evidently before the paintings in question were executed, and the heads of both these were circular, and it seems not improbable that all the windows were originally of that form; the other three had been filled up at a later period, and, on being opened, were found to contain paintings of the same date as those on the walls.

"Amongst the rubbish with which these last mentioned windows were filled, was a considerable quantity of wrought stones, on the surface of which appeared a variety of paintings, and I selected from them a complete series of subjects, representing the employments of the Twelve Months of the Year. It had been imagined that these painted stones belonged to the walls of some other room which was destroyed; but as the present chimney-piece in the Painted Chamber, from its architecture, is about the time of Henry VII., I am inclined to believe that the Twelve Months appropriately ornamented the frieze of the original chimney-piece; the form and arrangement of the stones confirm me in this conjecture. The whole of these subjects might have been put together and perfectly restored; but as detached fragments, when first thrown out with the rubbish, they were not attended to. The indiscreet folly of possessing pieces of the painting of no value individually, induced persons who visited the Chamber to take away several of the heads of the figures, and thus the whole was rendered incomplete.

"The paintings on the walls of this chamber are arranged around the interior in a succession of subjects on six bands, something similar to the Bayeux Tapestry, and it is not improbable that these paintings were designed in imitation of tapestry: each band or range of subjects increases in breadth the further it is removed from the eye; so that the uppermost band, near the ceiling, is thrice the breadth of the lowest, which is on a line with the sight; this was probably done, in order that the upper subjects might be as perceptible as the lower, and to counteract the reducing effect of distance. The subjects are chiefly from the *Old Testament*, and the stories are very circumstantially and well told. Beneath each subject, in a fair black-letter character, were the texts descriptive of them; these inscriptions are in French, and seem to be translations from the Bible, but were too imperfect to be transcribed. The two upper bands near the ceiling are from the Maccabees, or rather treat of the war between Judas Maccabeus and Antiochus. The whole of the subjects have been at least twice repainted; the last decoration of this kind the Chamber received is certainly not earlier than the reign of Edward I.

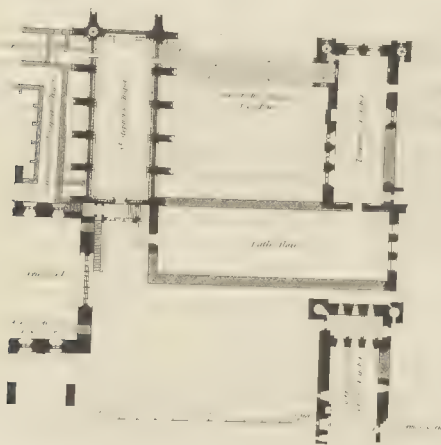
"The ceiling, which was of wood, had been painted, as well as the walls, and had also, like them, undergone white-washing. It had been ornamented with a number of large and small quatrefoil pateras, also of wood; each of the larger ones, on being removed, was found to conceal under it a painting of the head of a Saint, but for some reason these paintings did not extend more than half the length of the ceiling; the pateras concealing what appeared to be an unfinished work."

Mr. Stothard here proceeds to describe the subjects of the drawings, commencing on the south side of the room, from whence the greater number of subjects was selected, as they were there the most perfect, and he observes that the present collection of drawings was not more than a twentieth part of what might have been made, had the Chamber been in its original state. Mr. Stothard's description being incomplete, we shall content ourselves with noticing portions of it hereafter. It was his intention, as he expresses himself in his Prefatory Remarks, to have entered more fully into the subject, and "to collect and bring together such materials as might prove illustrative of these ancient paintings, and might throw light on the early history of Art in this country." These intentions were unhappily frustrated by the untimely death of the accomplished artist, and the task left unfinished by his able hands, and which the late Mr. Douce had at one time consented to resume, and afterward declined, has most unwillingly been accepted by me.

¹ The paintings on the walls of the upper chapel of St. Francis at Assisi are disposed in a succession of bands.

Mr. Douce, on his resigning the undertaking, writing to my predecessor Mr. Markland, observes, that "The press-work will be very copious: it must embrace some account of the origin of the Painted Chamber itself, a labour of no small calibre; a critical examination of the art, and artists of the paintings; and lastly a very minute and accurate description of the subjects, not always very intelligible." This order we shall attempt to pursue in our present memoir.

I. In tracing the origin of the Painted Chamber, and to identify it with the ancient Camera, or Magna Camera Regis, which we presume to have been this Chamber, there is a necessity of shewing its connection with other apartments of the Palace, principally the Great Hall, St. Stephen's Chapel, and the Little Hall, and in order to do it more clearly, we shall occasionally refer, as we proceed, to the plan and architectural details annexed.



King Edward the Confessor, it is not unknown, had a Palace in Westminster adjoining the monastery of St. Peter;¹ and the monastic church, according to our historians, was rebuilt from the foundation by the King, the dedication of it taking place a few days before his decease.² In the Bayeux Tapestry we have a representation of this church, which was so remarkable for its construction, that Malmesbury,³ speaking of it, says, "quam ipse (Rex) illo compositionis genere primus in Anglia ædificaverat, quod nunc pene cuncti sumptuosius æmulantur expensis." There is an attempt in the picture, in the

¹ Cum in civitate regia in Palacio juxta beati Petri basilicam Rex pacificus aliquando moraretur, &c. *Ailredus Abbas Rievallie de vita Edwardi Regis et Confessoris*, col. 383; vide Ingulph. 599, 513 b. That the Monastery was attached to the Palace, must be understood in the following passage from Hermannus: "Quo trahente decursum versus sui declivium, infirmatur apud Regium quod extruxerat Westmonasterium, et infirmatus fuit hominem, vigilia Epiphaniarum fere ad Angliæ totius exterminium." *MS. Cotton. Tib. B. ii. fol. 48.*

² Saxon Chron. Ann. MLXV. Rieval. 402.

³ De gestis Regum, lib. ii. fol. 52, v.

tapestry, to show a communication between the palace and the church; and perhaps it was in order more particularly to mark their contiguity, that a man is seen aloft on a connecting beam between the two, grasping with his right hand the ball on a tower of the palace, and stretching the other hand up to the cock on the vane at the east end of the church.

A ground plan of the Palace of Westminster has been published¹ by the Society of Antiquaries, the result of the continued labours of Mr. Capon between the years 1793 and 1823; and he shows, that the foundations of very ancient walls exist on the west side adjoining the monastery, and this is confirmed by the recent discoveries of Mr. Barry in making a sewer in that direction. On a reference to Mr. Capon's plan, and also to the plans in Smith's History of Westminster, it will be seen that the Palace was an irregular pile of building, which, commencing with Westminster Hall, extended southward along the river Thames, having the Jewel House,² afterward the Parliament Office, at the westernmost extremity. The area between the Monastery and the Palace is known under the name of Old Palace Yard, and the area in front of Westminster Hall, as New Palace Yard.

Westminster Hall, called the Great Hall, was built by William Rufus, who at Pentecost in 1099 held³ his Court for the first time in his new building. "This Hall," says Stowe,⁴ "King Richard II. caused to be repayered, both the walls, windows and roof, with a marvellous worke and great costs." During the late reparations of this building, under the direction of Sir Robert Smirke, the work of the two Kings was very distinguishable from each other, as we learn from Mr. Sydney Smirke's⁵ valuable account of the architecture of Westminster Hall, published in our Transactions. We may also add, that a portion of Norman masonry purposely remains uncased on the external face of the east side of the hall, southward, exhibiting, with other details, the arch of one of the windows. (vide Plate XXVI. A.) On the occasion of these reparations it appeared that at the south end of the Hall there were two Norman doors (vide one of these, Plate XXVI. B.) on a level with the basement story of the Old Palace; there was also a Norman staircase, altered by King Richard II. at the south-east angle of the Hall (vide Plate XXVI. C.)

At the same end, projecting eastward at right angles, are the ruins of the once magnificent Chapel of St. Stephen. This building stands partly on the site of a more ancient Chapel of the Saint, said to have been erected by King Stephen,⁶ which was connected with the Great Hall by the staircase above mentioned. In the 29th Henry III. the King commanded Edward Fitz Otho to have painted on the outside of the King's seat in St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, as the Chapel is entered from the Hall, "sicut intratur in capella descendendo de aula," the figure of the Blessed Virgin, and on the other side of the chancel toward the garden door,⁷ "ex alia parte cancelli versus hostium gardini," the figures of the King and Queen.⁸

¹ *Vetusta Mon.* vol. V.

² Vide License from the Crown in the 51 Edw. III., to the Abbot and Convent of Westminster to purchase lands in Mortmain in consideration of their giving up a part of a tower in the corner of the private palace toward the south, together with an inclosure, adjoining the tower on the west, within the close of the Abbey, which tower, in the heading of the license, is called, the Jewel House. *Widmore, Appendix xx, from the Niger Quaternus, fol. 79.*

³ *Saxon Chron. Ann.* 1097 and 1099.

⁴ Stowe, *Chron.* p. 318. Vide *Rot. Pat.* 17 Rich. II. p. 1, n. 1. *Charta* 18 Mart. 18 Rich. II. *Pell. Office.* Britton and Brayley's Westminster, p. 437.

⁵ *Archæolog.* vols. XXVI. XXVII. pp. 406. 135.

⁶ Stowe's Annals.

⁷ The garden door described was probably the "new, good, and large door at the upper end of the Chancel," ordered to be made in the 24th year of the King (*Rot. Claus.* 24 Hen. III. m. 7.), unless it was a door leading to some part of the Palace adjoining the east side.

⁸ *Rot. Claus.* 29 Hen. III. m. 15. Vide postea.

A fire¹ occurred at the Palace in 1262, when the ancient Chapel seems to have suffered injury, and this was probably the occasion of its giving place to a new Chapel, the building of which is otherwise not easily to be accounted for, as King Henry III. expended considerable sums in the paintings and decorations of his Chapel of St. Stephen. Some idea of the splendour of the edifice that succeeded,² begun by King Edward I. and finished by his successors Edward II. and III. chiefly by the latter monarch, of which only the crypt is now standing, may be formed from the drawings of the architecture and paintings of St. Stephen's, executed for the Society of Antiquaries by Mr. John Carter and Mr. Richard Smirke.³ The Board of Works is also possessed of a series of beautiful architectural drawings of this Chapel from the pencil of Mr. Mackenzie.

The west front of St. Stephen's was covered by a Vestibule or Galilee, that abutted, on one side, against the Great Hall, and, on the other, against the north-east end of the Little Hall of the Palace, with a court or area between those buildings. Smith⁴ in his extracts from the Rolls of Expenses relating to the Palace of Westminster in the time of King Edward III. makes mention of

"An inclosure between the Little Hall and the west end of St. Stephen's Chapel."

"An inclosure between the door of the Little Hall and the west end of the Chapel."

"A door under the Little Hall."

"A new house called *Galil* between the Great Hall and the Little, joining to the new Chapel."

The Galilee begun by King Edward III. was unfinished in the 21st year of his reign, as appears from the accounts of Martin de Ixning,⁵ Comptroller of the Works of the Palace of Westminster. This admirable structure, the face of which had the appearance of a screen (vide Plate XXVI. D.) underwent considerable alterations during the reign of King Richard II., who adapting to it a porch for the entrance into the crypt of the Chapel, and a flight of steps up to the vestibule, made it, by means of this flight of steps, the approach, from the Great Hall and the basement floor of the Palace, to the Chapel, and the principal apartments.⁶ It was at the same time, that the easternmost of the south Norman doors of the Great Hall, which we have noticed, as well as the door of the staircase at the angle, appear to have been closed; the staircase being altered, and made to communicate from the vestibule with the cloister on the east side of the Great Hall: while on the south-west side of the vestibule, the Galilee was made to connect itself with the north door of the Little Hall.

The Little Hall, sometimes called the White Hall, is better known under the name of the Court of Requests, and previously to the fire in 1834 was used as the House of Lords, and is now used as the House of Commons. It was somewhat below the level of the

¹ Eodem tempore combusta fuit Aula Regis apud Westmonasterium et capella et plures thalami, tempore prandii servitorum, domino rege ibidem existente.—*Ann. Burton*, 1262.—Vide also the letter of Henry de Sandwich, Bp. elect of London, to the King.—*Rymer*, vol. I. pars 2, p. 76, edit. 1745. The Chronicles generally contain exaggerated accounts of fires, and perhaps the sum allowed for the repairs, on the occasion of the fire described, may give a better idea of its extent. "Exitus de termino Pasche anno Regis Henrici Tertii xlvij.—Alexandro de Leye capellano, Magistro Roberto de Beverlaco cementario regis, et Magistro Odoni carpentario Regis CCXXXV marcas, ad domos regis Westm. nuper combustas inde reparandas lib. eisdem. *Exit. Scacc.* 47 Hen. III. Pell office.

² Vide Britton and Brayley's Hist. of the Palace of Westminster, p. 424.

³ Vide some account of the Collegiate Chapel of St. Stephen, Westminster, by John Topham, Esq. F.S.A. accompanying Mr. Carter's drawings; and the description by Sir H. C. Englefield, Bart. President, accompanying Mr. Richard Smirke's drawings.

⁴ Antiquities of Westminster, pp. 70, 71.

⁵ Computus Martini de Ixning, 21 Edw. III.

Die Lune, 14 Jul. In M^o.CC. lednal empi p cooptur galilee ij^o.

Et p vad xlvij carpi opant itun p id tps sr opib; ejusd galilee 7 capelle p diē vj^o.—lj^o.

ij sarator sarant bord p cooptur dce galilee ij^o.

⁶ Smith's Westminster, pp. 188, 190.

upper vestibule of the Chapel. This Hall, notwithstanding the damage which it may have sustained from the fire in 1262, and also from another fire which occurred in 1298, when the Palace received further injuries, is in substance a Norman building, and filled up in the west wall of the crypt beneath it, is masonry of early construction. (vide Plate XXVI. E.) Semicircular windows with zig-zag mouldings remain visible externally at the south end of the apartment. (vide Plate XXVI. F.) During the reparations of 1835, Mr. J. C. Buckler took an interior view of the east and south sides, and it will appear from his drawing, (vide Plate XXVI. G.) that on the east side of the Little Hall, is a series of recessed semicircular arches, broken by two doors with pointed arches introduced about the time of King Henry III. The door at the south-east end led into the Painted Chamber.

The Painted Chamber, or present House of Lords, extends eastward, at right angles from the Little Hall, in a parallel line with St. Stephen's. (vide the Plan p. 3.) It commanded at the upper or east end until modern alterations a view of the river; and on both sides of the room, north and south, were windows irregularly placed looking into cloistered courts or areas. On the north, it was at one time connected with St. Stephen's, by a gallery over the east side of the Chapel Cloister there: and with the King's Oratory and other apartments. On the south, it communicated with the Prince's Chamber, and with the old House of Lords, or what was called the Parliament Chamber, before the Little Hall was used for that purpose.

In the collection of the Society of Antiquaries are two drawings, executed in 1799 by Mr. Capon, of the interior of the Painted Chamber:¹ both of which are given by us on a reduced scale, Plate XXVII. H. I. At the time when these drawings were made, much of the apartment was covered with tapestry, which appears to have been hanging there at the time of the coronation of James II.² It was the removal of this tapestry³ in 1800 that first exposed, in modern times, the painted walls of the Chamber, and at once explained the name by which it had for centuries been generally known. It also then appeared that one of the chief subjects painted on the walls, namely, the coronation of Edward the Confessor, afforded in itself a satisfactory reason, why the apartment occasionally was designated St. Edward's Chamber.

In speaking of the age of this Chamber, it must be premised, that whilst the modern disposition and fittings up of the room for the use of the Lords in Parliament since the late fire, render it impracticable to examine the masonry internally, the face of the building externally, has become so deformed, that there is much difficulty in distinguishing the

¹ Anno gracie 1298 accedente Rege Angliæ ad Westmonaster. 4 kal. Aprilis, accensoque igne vehementi in minore aula Palatii, flamma tectorum domus attingens, ventoque agitata, Abbatiae vicinæ ædificia cum Palatio regio devoravit. *Math. Westm.*

The extent of the damage by fire in the Little Hall during the reign of Edw. I. may be collected from a memorandum of works at the Palace, executed from the beginning of the first to the end of the fourth year of King Edw. II. *Britton and Brayley's Palace of Westm.* p. 113.

"The Little Hall, which was burnt in the time of the King's father, was completely repaired and new raised; and the walls of the same hall, both within and without, were provided with corbels, *corbellatis*, of Caen and Reygate freestone. The gables were heightened and coped, and the walls in many parts strengthened and embattled; and the upper masonry was bound together with large iron ties, with tinued heads, on account of the great weight and size of the timbers. The floor of the hall was newly planked in the middle, and strengthened below, in various parts, with great timber."

² In Smith's *Westminster*, p. 50, will be found a view of the "Inside of the Painted Chamber as it was in the year 1800, before the old tapestry was removed."

³ *Sandford's Coronation of James II.* The chief part of the tapestry represented the Siege of Troy, and the rest gardens and fountains. It had belonged to King Charles I. when Prince of Wales, as on the backs of the pieces, were the Royal marks, C. P. and C. R., beneath the Crown, similar to the marks on the paintings from the collection of that Sovereign.

⁴ Vide Mr. Capon's remarks, *Vetust. Mon.* vol. V. 6, 7.

original features, (vide Plate XXVII. K. and L. showing external views of the east end, and part of the north side of the Painted Chamber.) It was the opinion of Mr. Capon, and which appears to be well founded, that work of King Henry III. predominates, grafted upon early masonry, and from the appearance of the east end of the vault or basement story, he conjectured, perhaps erroneously, that an elongation of the apartment had taken place, which he also ascribed to the same monarch. (vide Plan, also masonry at the north-east angle, of the vault M.)

"In the basement story, under this room, at the east end," says Mr. Capon, "is a fine piece of masonry, consisting of four broad ribs, and groins between them, and three narrow windows, with round heads, inserted in a very thick wall; and at the distance of about twelve feet, four inches, is another wall, parallel to that, of the thickness of five feet, eight inches. This latter wall now goes up no higher than to the floor of the Painted Chamber; but it could never have been built of such a vast thickness, unless to carry a wall of superstructure, which probably did continue higher than the ground-floor, until the time of King Henry III. when the upper part might have been taken down, to suit the purpose of that King, of making a room of such vast length and height as the Painted Chamber: viz. eighty feet, six inches, long from east to west, twenty-six feet in width, and thirty-one feet in height from the present boarded floor, below which is a tessellated floor about nine inches under the upper one."

In 1838, assisted by Mr. Richard Hussey, Mr. William Twopeny, and Mr. Mackenzie, I examined the basement story, and I again examined it in 1841 with Mr. Blore, and it was our impression that the vault was Norman work throughout; and it also appeared that a doorway had been introduced in the south-west angle of the vault, (Plate XXVII. N.) and a doorway, recessed window, and a fire place, added on the opposite side. (Plate XXVII. O.) These were part of the alterations executed apparently in the time of King Henry III., who seems to have new modelled the Chamber above, for the reception of paintings. Thus, the two east windows of the apartment, (vide Plate XXVII. P. compared with a window on the north side of the chamber Q.) and a door at the south-west angle (Plate XXVII. H.) exhibit finished work in the style used at that period, such windows, as Mr. Blore remarks in valuable observations on the Chamber which we subjoin,² being probably insertions in older walls; while part of a window filled up on the

¹ The Palace was in a ruinous state in 1163, and underwent considerable repairs by the direction of the Chancellor, St. Thomas à Becket.—*Fitz Stephens*. In 1177, and the following year, Alinoth the King's engineer was employed in repairing the King's Houses at Westminster, and in particular, the King's Chamber at the Palace.—*Rot. Pip. An. xxlij. xxliij. Hen. II.*

² "The Painted Chamber evidently consists in a great measure of Norman work, very much modified and disguised by alterations and additions of a more recent date. Substantially it is probably Norman, pierced at subsequent periods, in various parts, for windows and doors, and otherwise added to, and altered to adapt it to changes of appropriation, or to the changes of taste in architecture when the alterations took place. The dimensions of the room, however, I conceive to have undergone no change; the vaulted corridor, at the east end in the basement, being probably intended as a communication between the two Norman staircases at the angles, and the internal wall being no greater in substance than was requisite for resisting the pressure of the vault. This wall is now so much altered and cut about, that it is difficult to say whether the openings are ancient. The eastern wall is in all probability the original Norman wall; and the two pointed windows at that end, which were each divided into two lights by a central column, were in all probability either original windows altered to that shape, or new openings made in the wall, and intended to supply the place of other windows closed up when these windows were made; and the projecting masonry with which the upper part of this wall and the south-east staircase is invested, was probably an addition of the same period as the windows, to which it is very ingeniously fitted, and terminated on corbels at that point where it was no longer wanted either for use or ornament.

"On examining the lateral walls of the Painted Chamber, they are found to be pierced with windows partly giving light to the room, and partly walled up; of these, two were on the north giving light, and a third was walled up; on the south, four have been walled up, two as it appears at an early time. On considering these windows, it is observable, that the heads internally are partly round and partly pointed; that at the south-west angle of the room, the window has

south side is found to be actually cut away for the reception of the door alluded to.¹ Other windows were also at the same time filled up, as appears from Mr. Stothard's prefatory remarks, and we refer our readers to Plate XXXIX. annexed, fig. 22, for the ornamental design found in the hollow or reveal of one of those windows. "No. 22," says Mr. Stothard, "is for the history of the decorations of the Painted Chamber one of the most interesting specimens. It represents the painting found in one of the round-headed windows which had been filled up before the paintings of our present subjects were executed, as, it was not till some of the painted stucco was removed; that the head of the window could be opened. This painting is certainly, from its rudeness, much anterior to the other decorations of the Chamber. The lozenge² ornament on the shaft of the column, I remember to have seen in architecture of the time of King Henry the Second."

Our Public Records do not furnish details of considerable works at the Palace of Westminster, under King Henry III. until after his marriage with Eleanor of Provence, which took place on the 14th January, 1236. In the month of May following, among other things, the King's Great Chamber was ordered to be painted of a good green colour, in the manner of a curtain, and a motto to be inscribed in the great gable of the chamber near the door, according to the purport of the following Royal mandate.

De Opacōnib; ap Westm̄.—Manū est Theſ R qd magnā cañam R ap Westm̄ bono viridi colore depingi ad modū curtine t i magno gablo ej^od cañe jux^o hostiū depigi ludā illā. *Re³ ne dūne ke ne tūne ne pūte ke desire t i parvā garderobā R viridi colore ad modū curtine depigi fac.* Ita qd Rex i pmo adrētū suo illuc tveniat pdeas cañā t garderobā ita depictas t ornatas sic pdeū est t eust qd ad hoc possit Rex faciet ei oī. T. R. ap Merewell xxx^o. die Maii.—*Rot. Claus.* 20 Hen. III. m. 12.

On the 2nd of August in the following year, 1237, Otho the goldsmith, Master of the Works at Westminster, received 4*l.* 1*l.*s. for paintings to be made in the King's Chamber.

Libate p R de pict^ois.—Rex Thesaur t Cañariis suis sañ. Libate de Theſ nro Odoni Aurifabro Custodi opacōnis nre Westm̄ quatuor libi t undecim sol ad picturas faciēdas in Cañā nra ibid. T. Rege ap Westm̄. ij^o die Aug^o.—*Rot. Liberat.* 21 Hen. III. m. 5.

This order had reference to the Great Chamber; for Otho the goldsmith, on the fourteenth of the same month, was commanded, without delay, to put aside the picture which was begun to be painted in the King's Great Chamber at Westminster, beneath the great historical painting of the same chamber, with the panels containing the figures and representations of lions, birds, and other beasts, and to paint it green after the manner of a curtain, so that the effect of the great history might be kept unimpaired.

D' pict^oa cañe R ap Westm̄.—Manū est Odoni Aurifabro qd pict^oam q incepta est depingi i Magna Cañira R ap Westm̄, sub^o magnā Historiā ejusd cañe, cū paneti cōtinētib; spei t fig^{as} leonū aviū t aliāz bestiaz; sū dīlone deponi fac^o t de viridi i modū cortine eā depingi fac^o ita qd illa magna historia cōservet^o illesa. T. R. ap Windles. xliij^o die Aug^o.—*Rot. Claus.* 21 Hen. III. m. 5.

Mr. Capon in 1799 found the remains of a green curtain painted on the west wall of the Painted Chamber, being the side of entrance from the Little Hall; the folds and the fringe at the bottom were well painted, and the folding natural and well understood. It might be presumed that this curtain was a portion of the work executed under one of

been partly cut away to make room for a door of the time of Henry the Third; and lastly, that there remains in some of the windows an impost moulding of a very simple form, and probably of an early date."

¹ This doorway has been recently removed, and is now placed in the vaults under the Little Hall.

² This ornament is sculptured on the Norman door entering into the north cloister, from the west end of the south aisle of Durham Cathedral. *Vide Plate X. Durham, Ecclesiastical Buildings published by the Society of Antiquaries.* It will however be found in later work, as in the columns painted on the beautiful frontal of an altar remaining in Westminster Abbey, *vide postea.*

³ *Qui ne donne ce qu'il tient, ne prend ce qu'il desire:* or, according to the motto which the King ordered to be inscribed on the windows of the Little Hall, *Qui non dat quod habet, non accipit ille quod optat.*

the Royal orders cited, but we apprehend, for reasons hereafter given, that it was a repainting.

In 1252 Ralph de Dungeon, the royal librarian, was ordered to deliver colours to Master William the King's painter, among other things, for repairing the paintings of the King's Great Chamber.

D' Coloribz ad depingend' gardei Regine.—Manf est Rafo de Dungen c^otodi liboz & qd Ma^oro Wille Pictori & hie fa^o colores ad depingendam pyam garderobi Regine & t emendandā picturā magne camere & t caule Regine. T' & ap Westū xxvj die Feb^r.—*Rot. Claus.* 36 Hen. III. m. 22.

In 1259, when the chimney in the King's Chamber was taken down and rebuilt,¹ Master William, the painter, with his men, received forty-three shillings and two pence, for painting Jesse on the mantel-piece, and for repairing and cleansing the paintings of the chamber, beside a payment of 7s. 6d. for colours.

Pictoribus—Magistro Wille Pictori cū hominibz suis &c^o Jesse i Mantell^o camini & deping^o & &c^o picturā parietū ipsius caule Regis innovandā t abluendā xliij. s^d. t in coloribz di^ovisis emptis ad idem vij solid. vj^d.—*Rot. Erit.* 43 Hen. III.

We now come to an important epoch in the history of our Paintings. On the 10th November 1263, a royal order was issued to the Treasurer and Chamberlain to provide money for paintings to be made in the King's Chamber, and in the chapel behind the King's bed, and in the King's Oriels.

D' deū ad picturā caule & apud Westū libandis.—Manf est Thesaurar^o t camei qd hie fa^o Pictoribz Camere & Westū denar^o ad picturas ejusdem Camere, t capelle & retro lectum & t oriollos & ibidem faciendas ita qd picture p^odras Caule t capelle cit^o festum Natat Dñi pficiant^o. Et cū & sc^ovit qntū eis libat^o hie suū de libate eis inde hie fa^o. T' & apud Winton x die Novemb^r.—*Rot. Claus.* 48 Hen. III. m. 10.

It will appear more fully hereafter, that the King's private chapel, and oriel, were connected with the Painted Chamber (as similar apartments were, at the Castle of Hereford,² with the great chamber there, and also at Guildford, where the King's bed was in the great chamber³); and we have evidence that in 1238, the chapel was paved with painted tiles, and the story of Joseph depicted on the walls⁴; and we have further evidence that such painting was repaired⁵ in 1255 by Peter de Hispania, a painter in the King's employ. The cause of the repainting now required in the apartments described, is obvious; the fire, of which we have spoken in our former pages, that broke out in the Little Hall in 1262, the year previous to the order last set forth, had spread its injurious effects to this adjoining part of the Palace, and the documents we shall next refer to, lead us, in conjunction with the preceding order, to conclude, that the chamber was on this occasion entirely repainted.

We must first, however, remark, that the Great Chamber was used on occasions as a banqueting room; and the motto inscribed, as we have seen, over the door, had allusion

¹ Quia caminus Caule & apud Westū debilis est, mand^o est Joh^o de Crachole The^o. & qd statim post parliamentum & quod erit post instans pascha p^odrā camini p^osterni t vñ bonum caminu t fortem ibidem constrū fac^o. Et & cum sc^ovit eustum quod ad hoc possit ei inde hie de libate & f^o faciet. T. & ap Westū vij die April.—*Rot. Liberat.* 43 Hen. III.

It is not unlikely that the chimney found in the basement story of the Painted Chamber was executed about this time. A new mantel-piece seems to have been put up in the Painted Chamber in the fifteenth century.

² *Rot. Pip. Ann.* 18 Hen. III. *Hereford.*

³ Vide postea.

⁴ D' quibz opibz faciendis ap Westū—Manf est H. de Pāch The^o qd (inter alia) Parvā Capellam apud Westū tegula picta decem^o paucari faciatis t a tergo ult^o sedē & in eadē Capella faciat depingi historiā Joseph. T' & ap Westū x die Feb^r.—*Rot. Claus.* 22 Hen. III. m. 19.

⁵ D' domibz & Westū reparand^o t mūdand^o.—Manf est Edward^o de Westū qd reperi t mundari fa^o cont^o adventū & ap Westū omīs domos & ibidem, videt, aulas, caſas, t capillas tam surā q^o deorum t in pletibz ubi necesse fuit. Et qd emendari fa^o pict^o am deficientē in p^o capilla & lux^o lectum & p ma^orm Peti Hispani pictorē Ita qd in adventu & ibide pficiat^o. T' & ap Windes xxij die Jan^r.—*Rot. Claus.* 39 Hen. III. p. 1. m. 20 *dorso*.

It appears that the King had a round window near his bed; there is a royal order "unam verinam rotundam ponendam i rotunda fenestra & jux^o lectū & in Cailla & ap Westū.—*Rot. Claus.* 20 Hen. III. m. 12.

to hospitality. Thus, in the 28th year of King Henry's reign (1243), William de Haverhull, the Treasurer, was commanded on the day of the Circumcision of our Lord, to feed six thousand poor people at the Palace of Westminster, for the good estate of the King and Queen and their children; the weak and aged, to be entertained in the Great Hall and the Lesser Hall; those who were stronger, and the middle sort, in the King's Chamber, *Camera Regis*; and the children in the Queen's Chamber.¹

In 1264, we find the King writing on the 17th September, to William² of Gloucester, citizen of London, urging that, being about to celebrate the approaching feast of St. Edward at Westminster, it was necessary that his chamber there, where he was to banquet, and which was then just painted, *jam depicta*, should be thoroughly finished, and that gold was wanted to finish the pictures, wherefore the King desired him, together with his clerk Adam de Stretton, to provide the gold necessary for the purpose.

D' auro ad picturā cañle ꝛ ap̄ Westm̄.—ꝛ Wille de Gloucestr' civi Lond' salm. Cum ꝑ instante festo Sti Edwardi quod celeb' tū sumꝰ apud Westm̄, Dio concedente; neē sit qđ cañla nra ibidem in q' hospitabimꝰ, que iam depicta est, ad plenū pficiatꝰ, ac jam auro ad pfectiōem ejusd' picture careamꝰ ut accepmꝰ, vob mandamꝰ in fi t' d' quibꝰ nob tenemini rogantes qđ vna cum dilecto amico nro Ad de Stretton pvideatis nob de auro ad picturas nras ꝑdctas inde pficiendas Et hoc sicut ꝛ honorem nrm diligitis illatenꝰ omittatis. Et cum scivimus custū quod c'ca aurū iñd pquirend' possitis vobis de ꝑmis exitibꝰ cambioꝝ nroꝝ vī de ꝑmis deū ad se c'm nrm ventū reddi faciemus. T ꝛ apud Cantuar' xvij die Sept.—*Rot. Claus.* 48 Hen. III. m. 2.

A series of orders follow for payment of money for finishing the paintings, unfolding to us the important fact that the artist employed was Master Walter, the King's painter, of whom hereafter.

D' deū liband' ad pictur' Westm̄.—ꝛ Thesaur' ꝛ Cañlar' suis salm. Libate de Thro nro pictoribꝰ Cañle nre Westm̄ septem libꝛ ꝛ decem sold' ad picturas ejusdem cañle, capelle nre retro lectum nrm, ꝛ oriołoꝝ nroꝝ ibidem inde fač. T ꝛ apud Westm̄ xv die Jan.—*Rot. Lib.* 49 Hen. III. m. 7.

ꝛ Walfo Pictore.—ꝛ Theſ ꝛ Cañl' suis. Libate de Theſ nro magro Walfo pictori nro Lond' deoē libras ad picturā cañle nre Westm̄ inde pficiend'. T ꝛ apud Wodestoc xx die Dec.—*Rot. Liberat.* 51 Hen. III. m. 11.

ꝛ Magro Walfo Pictore.—ꝛ Ballis suis Civit' Lond' salm. Mandamꝰ vob qđ de firma Civit' ꝑdctę fač t're magro Walfo Pictori nro viginti marcas ad picturas Cañle nre ap̄ Westm̄ inde faciend'. Et hoc nullo modo omittatis. Et op' vob ad scdm. T ꝛ apud Westm̄ vij die Jan.—*Rot. Liberat.* 51 Hen. III. m. 10.

ꝛ Magro Walfo Pictore.—ꝛ Ballis Civitatis sue London' salm. Mandamꝰ vobis qđ de firma Civitatis pfectę fač h're magro Walfo Pictori nro viginti marc' ad d'ctas picturas ꝛ op. . . inde faciendas Et comp' vob ad Sc'cm. T ꝛ apud Canteb' xxliij die Marc.—*Rot. Liberat.* 51 Hen. III. m. 8.

It appears from the accounts of Robert de Beverley, the King's mason, and others, that payments were made³ for gold and colours for the pictures in the King's Chamber, almost down to the very close of the reign of Henry III. It was not till some years after the accession of King Edward I. that mention is made of these pictures again.

In 1288 a new chamber was building in the Palace towards the garden, and the accounts of Gilbert de Sutton and Hugh de Peyekyrk, clerks of the King's works at Westminster, show that colours were bought for painting the new room, and among other things, expressly for repairing the paintings in the Great Chamber, "ad emendaçones pict'e magne cam'e R." Whence, in 1292, we find Master Walter, the King's painter, and his men busy in restoring the paintings in the Great Chamber, "circa emendacionem

¹ D' paupibꝰ pascendis.—Mandatum est W. de Haverhull Theſ ꝛ qđ hac die circuncisionis Dñi pasci faciat apud Westm̄ sex milia paupm ꝑ statu Regis ꝛ Regine ꝛ libꝰ suos; pascantꝰ aut omēs debiles ꝛ senes in magna aula ꝛ minore; minus debiles ꝛ medicos in Cañl' ꝛ; ꝛ ꝑvi in cañla Regine. Et cū ꝛ eus' sciv'it illi reddi fač. T ꝛ apud Wistleshā xxix die Dec.—*Rot. Claus.* 28 Hen. III. m. 16.

In the same year 1243, William de Haverhull, the King's Treasurer, and Edward Fitz Otho, received the royal commands, that on Friday next after the octave of St. Matthew, on the anniversary of Alianore, late Queen of Scots, the King's sister, they should, for the good of her soul, feed as many poor as the Great and Little Halls at Westminster would contain.—*Rot. Claus.* 28 Hen. III. m. 13.

² William of Gloucester, the goldsmith, vide postea.

³ *Rot. Canc.* 52, 53, 54, 55 Hen. III.—Comp opacioꝝ Westm̄ ꝛ domoꝝ ꝛ ibidem.

picture in Magna Camera Regis." The work is styled in the roll of expenses delivered by him on the occasion, "Prima operacio Picture;" and it appears from another roll of expenses for works at St. Stephen's Chapel, and "ad magnam cameram Regis depingendam," that further painting was going on in 1294. We annex extracts from the accounts above referred to, in the Queen's Remembrancer's Office.

Compot^o Gilberti de Sutton et Hugoii de Pevekyrk clerici
op^o Reg^{is} apud Westm^{onasterium} a die Lune in festo Sancti Marche
euanget anno r^{egni} E. xvij usq^{ue} Dominic^{us} p^{rius} f^{estum} Omnium
Sanctorum anno p^{re}dicto p^{er} testimoniu^m et visu^m mag^{istri} Ric^{ardi} de
Creden^{den} et Roti de Colebroke.—Excerpta.

Emptiones pie^e v^{er}ni^{er}is et ymag^{is}.

In albo plumbo, v^{er}ni^{er}is v^{er}id^{is}, oleo, plumbo rubeo,
stang^{is}, cole^{is}, auro, argento, sinople, vermillone, Ynde,
auro, ollis, ranno, et aliis minutis emp^{er} ad viridand^{um} no-
vam Cutham de pet^{ra} et ad emendaciones pict^{ur}e magne
Cuth^e p^{er} s^{er}ie p^{er} p^{er}iculas Sum^{ma} xij^{li}. vj^{li}. vj^{li}. ob.

Prima opaco picture.

Rotulus^{us} de Ex^{tra} p^{er} missis f^{estis} p^{er} manus mag^{istri} Wal^{ter}i
pictoris E^cc^{clesie} emendacionem picture in magna Cuth^a p^{er}
Incip^{it} xxvij die mens^{is} Aprilis anno r^{egni} E^{dwardi} xx^{vi}.

In^{ter} p^{rius} missis. In m^{en}se de alneto emp^{er} de Jak Calnar^{is} ad
Scaffoca inde faciend^{um} ad opus mag^{istri} Wal^{ter}i pictoris v^{er}. ix^{li}.

In ij lb. plumbi albi p^{er} lb. ij^{li}. Sm^{us} iij^{li}. d^{en}
Item in iij^{li}. lb. albi plumbi emp^{er} p^{er} d^{en} p^{er} lb. Sm^{us} vij^{li}. d^{en}

Item in iij. quart^{on}is olei emp^{er} Sm^{us} ix^{li}. d^{en}

In j quart^{on} de viridi Sm^{us} j. d^{en}. ob.

It^{em} in j quart^{on} de vermillone Sm^{us} ij. d^{en}. ob.

It^{em} in Synople Sm^{us} ij. d^{en}. ob.

Item in azura emp^{er} Sm^{us} ij^{li}. d^{en}

In oct^o, plast^{is}, filo, et pell^{is}, emp^{er} Sm^{us} ij^{li}. d^{en}

In j. lb. vernicio emp^{er} Sm^{us} ij^{li}. d^{en}

Stip^{end}.

In stip^{end} Wal^{ter}i p^{er} sept^{em} p^{er} die^m xij^{li}. d^{en} Sm^{us} vij^{li}. s^{olidi}

In stip^{end} Curteys p^{er} j die^m vj^{li}. d^{en} Sm^{us} vj^{li}. d^{en}

Rico de Stockwell p^{er} l. die^m vj^{li}. d^{en} Sm^{us} vj^{li}. d^{en}

Alex^{ander} de Wynd^{ham} p^{er} v. dies p^{er} die^m vj^{li}. d^{en} Sm^{us} ij^{li}. s^{olidi}

Rico de Bridiz p^{er} idem tempus Sm^{us} ij^{li}. s^{olidi}

Thoni de Thiekhull p^{er} ist^{ud} t^{em}p^{us} p^{er} die^m iij^{li}. d^{en} o^{mnium} Sm^{us} xxij^{li}. s^{olidi}. ob.

Alius Rotulus aliquantulum mutilatus.

Emp^{er} Pict^{ur}.

In iij^{li}. quat^{or}is argenti emp^{er} ad opa pictorie Sm^{us} xix. d^{en}. ob.

In iij. lb. vernicio emp^{er} ad idem Sm^{us} xij. d^{en}

In iij. lb. de stag^{is} emp^{er} ad idem Sm^{us} x. d^{en}. ob.

In j. quart^{on} de tinctu ad idem Sm^{us} iij. d^{en}

In iij. lb. viridi emp^{er} ad idem Sm^{us} xij. d^{en}. ob.

In di^o lb. de vermillone emp^{er} ad idem Sm^{us} iij. d^{en}. ob.

In synoplio emp^{er} ad idem Sm^{us} ix. d^{en}

In j. potello olei et cole emp^{er} ad idem Sm^{us} vj. d^{en}. ob.

Stip^{end}.

Magro Wal^{ter}o pictori p^{er} stip^{end} suis p^{er} sept^{em} Sm^{us} vij^{li}. s^{olidi}

Thoni de Wykeest^{er} p^{er} v. dies p^{er} die^m vj^{li}. d^{en} Sm^{us} ij^{li}. s^{olidi}

Witmo de Bridiz p^{er} idem tempus Sm^{us} ij^{li}. s^{olidi}

Thoni de Thiekhull p^{er} idem tempus p^{er} die^m iij^{li}. d^{en} o^{mnium} Sm^{us}

xxij^{li}. s^{olidi}. ob.

Fulof Whyt p^{er} iij^{li}. dies xvij. d^{en} Sm^{us} xvij. d^{en}

Witmo s^{er}ptori^{us} p^{er} j. die^m v^{er}. d^{en} Sm^{us} v. d^{en}

22 Edw. I.—Rot. cx. Rotulus de stipendiis C^{on}st^{ant}is Cu-
bac^{us} Fabro^{rum} Carpent^{arum} Pict^{orum} et alio^{rum} opa^{rum} ad opa
Capelle Reg^{is} apud Westm^{onasterium} et ad mag^{ist}ru^m Cutham ejus-
dem Re^{gis} item depingend^{um} in sept^{em} m^{en}se q^{uod} fuit festum
Sci Lau^{rentii} anno xxij. p^{er} vj. dies cont^{ra} j. F. test^{is} C^{on}st^{ant}is.

Custus Pict^{ur}e.

In vadiis Mag^{istri} Wal^{ter}i p^{er} sept^{em} vij^{li}. s^{olidi}

Johi de Sonighull } p^{er} sept^{em} vij^{li}. s^{olidi}

Rico de Essex } p^{er} vj. dies ix. s^{olidi}

Thoni de f^{est} Mag^{istri} } p^{er} vj. dies ix. s^{olidi}

Witmo de Briddis } p^{er} vj. dies ix. s^{olidi}

Johi de Hart } p^{er} vj. dies ix. s^{olidi}

Rico de Oxon^{ia} p^{er} vj. dies ij^{li}. s^{olidi}

Thoni de Wykeest^{er} p^{er} vj. dies ij^{li}. s^{olidi}

Thoni de Clare p^{er} sex dies ij^{li}. s^{olidi}

Johi de Halstele p^{er} idem tempus ij^{li}. s^{olidi}

Sm^{us} Stip^{end} xxxij. s^{olidi}. vj. d^{en}

In v^{er} auri emp^{er} xvj. s^{olidi}. vij. d^{en}

In C^{apelle} argent^{is} vj. d^{en}

In cole et in oc^{ulo} j. d^{en}

Sm^{us} Emp^{er} xvij. s^{olidi}. ij. d^{en}

Sm^{us} utus^{us} pict^{ur}e xlix. s^{olidi}. ix. d^{en}

In 1298 occurred the second fire in the Little Hall, and that the Painted Chamber received damage, more or less, there can be little doubt when we examine the accounts of Nicholas de Tickhull, in the 1st of Edward II. (1307) and read the payments to the King's painter, Master Thomas de Westminster (son of Walter before mentioned) and others, "circa Cameram regis depictam emendandam," and "circa diversos defectus in Camera depicta existentes, tam in cumblea, quam in muris, et fenestris, reparandis et

¹ Colle Fr. size.

² This roll is attached to the first roll of the works of St. Stephen's Chapel, headed, "Prima septimana p^{er} ope capelle Westm^{onasterium}" in the Queen's Remembrancer's Office.

³ Opposite the item for timber for scaffolding is written "non allocantur hic."

⁴ For writing the French inscriptions.

⁵ Thomas son of Master Walter the painter.

emendandis." The paintings appear on this occasion to have been thoroughly repaired, and the gilding and inscriptions renewed. We annex extracts from this Roll, which is in the possession of Sir Thomas Phillipps, Bart.

Computus Nicholai de Tikhull Clerici ad soluciones denariorum pro operacionib; Pallacii ⁊ Mutarum Regis juxta Westminister ⁊ Turris London facienſ, 78. A. Regis Edw. fit Regis Edw⁴ primo.

Soluciones facte xxij Oct p quindena ꝑcedente.

Maſtro Pictori.—M^{ro} Thomas de Westm Pictori opanti circa parvam aulam depingendam, ⁊ circa Cameram Regi depictam emendam. Nihil solvitur sibi hic.

Solucio xiiii^{ma} xvij Dec p quind ꝑced.

M^{ro} T. de Westm Pictori opanti circa diverſ defectus in Camera depicta existentes tam in cumbi quam in muris ⁊ fenestris repandis ⁊ emendand ⁊ circa alias cameras capellas ⁊ alias domos depingend ⁊ depictur emendand p xij dies.

Pictoribus.—Glib^o de Coueham vj^d Willo de Weston iij^d Edm^o de Marham iij^d Willo Wyt, molenti ij^d Johi de Northfolk servienti j^d

Solucio xiv^{ma} xxiij Dec p septimana ꝑced.

M^{ro} Thoſi de Westm opanti circa magnam aulam depingendam ⁊ circa diverſ defectus in camera depicta existentes ⁊ circa alios defectus in diversis cameris ⁊ capellis infra palacium repand ⁊ circa navem depingendam in qua Dñe Rex transfretavit in Francia ad nuptias suas. Nihil solvitur sibi hic.

Pictorib;.—W^{mo} de Sudbury pictori operanti 78. vij^d Simoni de Bradstete vj^d W^{mo} de Blida vj^d Simoni de Burdeaux vj^d ⁊ Johi de Bristol iij^d depictoribus opantibus circa idem p vj dies 78.

Empciones ad Pictores.

M^{ro} T. de Westm Pictori. ⁊ scrowys ad inde faē cole ⁊ pronnos . . . p vj lb. albi plumbi ꝑcium ij^d. p lb. -j^d. p vj lb. plumbi rubei ꝑc. iij^d -j^d. vj^d. p vj lb. orpimenti ꝑc. ij^d. ob. -j^d. iij^d. p xv lb. de oker ꝑc. ob. p lb. -vj^d. ob. p iij lb. vermillion ꝑc. xv^d. p lb. -v^d. p iij lb. coloris Indei ꝑc. x^d. p lb. -ij^d. iij^d. p iij lb. de brun ꝑc. j^d. p lb. -iij^d.

The wages of Master Thomas de Westminster are accounted for in another roll, at the Augmentation Office, of expenses in the Palace at Westminster from the first to the thirtieth year of the reign of Edward II., and from which we make the following extract :

In vadis Magistri Thome de Westm depictoris, operantis et morantis in palacio, a xvij die Septemb^r anno R^{is} nunc primo usque vij diem Jul proximo sequentem utroque die computato; vid^{et} per colxiii dies infra idem tempus, circa depicturas in Camera depicta et ejusdem depictura historias reparandas et emendand et etiam circa magnam aulam depingendam, &c. &c.—pro expensis suis per diem vj. d.—vj^d. xij^d.

It is in these accounts just cited, we observe, for the first time, the Camera, or Magna Camera Regis, described as the Painted Chamber, and a few years afterward, before the close of the reign of Edward II. we have eye-witnesses bearing testimony to the paintings and the splendour of the apartment. Simon Fitz Simon and Hugh the illuminator, two Franciscans, coming to Westminster in 1322, as they passed through London from Ireland, on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, speak of the Monastery and Palace in these words : "Ad aliud caput civitatis (Londoniæ) est monasterium nigrorum monachorum nomine Westmonasterium, in quo constanter et communiter omnes reges Angliæ sepeliuntur;—et eidem monasterio quasi immediatè conjungitur illud famosissimum palatium regis, in quo est illa vulgata camera, in cujus parietibus sunt omnes historiæ bellicæ totius Bibliæ ineffabiliter depictæ, atque in Gallico completissimè et perfectissimè conscriptæ, in non modicâ intuentium admiratione et maximâ regali magnificentia.

¹ Itinerary fratris Simonis Simeonis et Hugonis Illuminatoris, in Bib. Corp. Christi Cantab. edited by Nasmith, Svo. Cambridge, 1778.

Solucio xv^{ma} xliij Jan p quindena ꝑced.

M^{ro} T. de Westm Pictori operanti circa diverſ defectus in Camera depicta repand ⁊ emendand ⁊ circa alios defectus in diversis cameris ⁊ capellis Regis ⁊ Regine ⁊ circa navem Regis depingend (ut supra) 78.

Pictorib; Glibto de Coueham v^d Willo de Clousebrug ⁊ Johi de Jernemuta iij^d Edm^o de Marham ij^d Johi de Northfolk j^d.

Empciones ad Pictores.

M^{ro} Thomas de Westm p iij lagenis de cole emp^t de Gravel pre^t lagenis j^d.—iij^d.

⁊ x lb. plumbi albi ꝑ. viij^d. p vij lb. plumbi rubei. ij^d.

M^{ro} Thomas p palkthred ad inde faciendas lineas. Kif p factione ⁊ reparacione brushorum . . . p xvij lb. rubei vernicis ꝑc. lb. ij^d.—ij^d. p vj lb. albi vernicis ꝑc. lb. iij^d.—ij^d.

Solucio xvii. xj Feb.

M^{ro} T. de Westm depictori opanti circa Cameras Capellas aulas ⁊ alias domos depingend ⁊ eas depicturas emendand ⁊ circa diverſ defectus adtunc existentes in Camera depicta ⁊ circa diverſ defectus existentes in Camera Marculfy p xij dies.

Solucio xviii. xxv Feb.

Petro Pavatori ⁊ Hugoni le Peyntur socio suo operantibus circa Cameram Marculphi, Cameram depictam ⁊ alias Cameras ⁊ Capellas pavandas p xliij dies.

Memorand. De novo orialo quod est ad finem parvas aulas juxta Cameram depictam cum camino ⁊ dressorio p festis Regis quando conesturus est in parva aula vel in Camera depicta.—

It now remains to add some further proof of the identity of our apartment ; and first, its contiguity to the Little Hall.

Attached to the accounts just abstracted of Nicholas de Tickhull, is a memorandum of works executed in the Palace from the beginning of the first to the end of the fourth year of King Edward II. Among the items occurs, "The new Oriel which is at the end of the Little Hall near the Painted Chamber, with a chimney and dresser, newly constructed for festivals when the King banquets in the Little Hall, or in the Painted Chamber." Hence, when the Cardinals Hispania and Monte Florentio arrived in England as Ambassadors from the Court of Rome in 1377, they were received by the King at the door of the Lesser Hall, and conducted into the Painted Chamber.¹ And, to descend to later times, on the occasion of the trial of Viscount Stafford, in 1680, it is related in the printed account, that the Lords going in procession to Westminster Hall, passed from their house (the old House of Lords) first into the Painted Chamber, then through that called the Court of Requests (another name for the Little Hall), thence, turning on the left hand, into that called the Court of Wards, (a chamber to the north-west, since destroyed,) they entered, by a door broken through expressly for the occasion, into Westminster Hall.²

The locality of the King's Private Chapel before mentioned, and the gallery connecting the Painted Chamber with St. Stephen's, further identify the chamber.

The marriage of Simon de Montfort with Eleanor, sister of King Henry III. was privately celebrated, according to Matthew Paris, on the morrow of the Epiphany 1238, "in parvula³ capella Regis, quæ est in angulo Cameræ." This chapel was attached to the Great Chamber on the north-east side ; and, in consequence of the cloisters erected there by King Edward II. was rebuilt by his successor, being, in accounts⁴ of works at the Palace between the 7th and 10th years of Edward III. expressly distinguished as the King's Oratory between St. Stephen's and the Painted Chamber.

In 1319 John de Radewell, mason, received payments for work about divers defects in the walls of the Painted Chamber, and also about various defects near to and in the gallery and passages in the new chapel of St. Stephen.⁵ King Edward II. not long afterwards, raised at a considerable charge the south cloister of the chapel, constructing over the east side of the cloister a gallery connecting together the Painted Chamber and Chapel. In accounts⁶ of William de Chayllowe, surveyor of the King's works at Westminster from the 17th of Edw. II. to the first year of his successor, this gallery is described, under the heading "*Capella Pallacii cum nova Alura*," as *nova alura inter cameram Regis et dictam capellam* : while further accounts of works at the Palace, during the reign of Edward III. speak expressly of this gallery, as the *alura*⁷ between the new Chapel of St. Stephen's and the Painted Chamber, and sometimes call it the *Galilee* on the south side of the Chapel.⁸

¹ Anon. Hist. Edw. III. ad finem Hist. Walt. Hemingford, ed. a Hearne, Oxon 1731, vol. ii. p. 413.

² Vide the printed account of the trial ; and Smith's Hist. of Westminster, p. 64. Vide also Capon's Plan shewing the Court of Wards. ³ Matthew Paris, 465.

⁴ "To John de Hungerford and John de Tunbridge, carpenters, working on the King's Oratory, between St. Stephen's Chapel and the Painted Chamber, six days at 4*d.* per day each, 4*s.*

⁵ Dec. 12.—John de Lincoln, for 800 beech laths, for covering and preserving two oratories, viz. the King's, between the new Chapel (St. Stephen's) and the Painted Chamber, and that in the west gable where the Bell Tower is to be, at 3½*d.* per 100.—2*s.* 4*d.*

⁶ Jan.—John Nichol, for ten pieces of timber, bought for beams and rails for the pent-house over the King's Oratory, between the new Chapel and the Painted Chamber, the length of each eighteen feet, at 9*d.* each.—7*s.* 6*d.* Extracts from Rolls of Expenses, temp. Edw. III. preserved in the Queen's Remembrancer's Office. Vide Britton and Brayley, pp. 159, 160, and Smith's Westminster, 205.

⁷ Account of John de Norton 13 Edw. II. in the Queen's Remembrancer's Office ; vide Britton and Brayley, 120.

⁸ Rot. Cancell. 1 Edw. III. Mus. Brit. vide Britton and Brayley, pp. 125, 126, 127.

⁹ *Alour, passage, sentier, allée ; corridor, d'ambulare.*—Roquefort Glossaire ; vide Du Cange in voce *Allorium*.

¹⁰ Vide extracts from the Accounts, Smith's Hist. of Westminster, pp. 71, 205.

During Sir Robert Smirke's late repairs, an early pointed-arched doorway was found walled up on the north-east side of the Painted Chamber, which led into what appeared to be the end of a gallery running northward; and, eastward, was an entry to the head of the circular staircase at this angle of the Painted Chamber. Enough remained of the vaulting of the gallery, the groining¹ of which abutted against the door, to show that this portion had been rebuilt in the 15th century; and it appeared that when this door was closed, another had been opened leading from the Painted Chamber into the entry. The end of the gallery described, it must also be observed, is immediately over an arch of the crypt which must have communicated with the cloisters below; and, in respect to the opposite end of the gallery, a door, as might be expected, was found in the south wall of St. Stephen's in a line with the gallery. The chapel of St. Mary le Pewe seems to have occupied the site of the King's Oratory, rebuilt by King Edward III. and the cloister to have taken the name of Le Pewe, and probably the gallery described underwent alterations after a fire in 1452, when the Chapel was again rebuilt.²

As regards the general history of the Painted Chamber, the Rolls of Parliament will show, that frequently in the reign of Edward III. and at later times, Parliaments were opened in this Chamber; that there were occasions when the Commons held sittings in it; and that petitions were often tried there, whence Sir Edward Coke says,³ that the causes of Parliament were in ancient times showed in the *Chambre de Peint*, or St. Edward's Chamber. In conclusion, down to modern times, this Chamber was used as the place of conference between the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled.

II. Having disposed of the origin of the Painted Chamber, let us now speak of the Art used in the Paintings, and of the Artists who executed them.

We must first, however, on a review of our history, notice the striking conformity with the details here set forth, which the state of the paintings presented when Mr. Stothard made his drawings. "The whole of the subjects," he tells us, "had been at least twice repainted; the last decoration of this kind the Chamber received, was certainly not earlier than the reign of Edward I." Again, in loose notes found after his decease, he adds, "It is remarkable that the subjects on the walls have been repainted at least three times, and I have reason to believe that the last time the subjects were so renewed, the gilder was more employed in exerting his skill than the painter.—The additions were partial—The work still retains in most places the original compositions, as well as some of the minuter figures—Although some anomalies are created in these subjects upon the walls by parts of former designs being retained, yet a tolerably correct idea may be formed about what period the last painting was executed, and I should state it to be in the reign of Edward I. without at present descending to a number of little particulars observable in the paintings themselves."

These remarks become of more value, when it is stated that, although Mr. Stothard was familiar with such royal orders touching paintings at the Palace of Westminster, during the reign of Henry III. as are to be found in Lord Orford's⁴ earliest account of painting in England, yet he appears to have had no knowledge of the proceedings had after the fire in 1262, or the specific accounts, referred to, of restorations during the reigns of Edward I. and II. It is to be regretted, that he did not leave us a detailed account of the little particulars which he observed in the paintings, affording internal

¹ The vaulting springs from corbels composed of angels holding shields emblazoned; one of these bears, Azure, a saltire or, impaling, Argent, a chevron sable between eight martlets gules.

² Vide Smith's Hist. of Westminster, 123, 125, 126. Britton and Brayley, 203.

³ IV. Instit. edit. 1797, p. 7.

⁴ Orford's Works, vol. iii. chap. 1.

evidence of the time when they were executed. Some, however, we will attempt to supply, when we describe the subjects, and we here insert two plates (XXVIII.—XXIX.) with examples, chiefly from contemporary MSS. tending to bear on the particulars. Mr. Stothard must have been of opinion, that the original compositions are to be dated prior to the fire in 1262, for he remarks, in his notes, that it was an error to suppose that the Painted Chamber had been destroyed by that particular fire. We concur with him, and, for reasons which will appear more fully hereafter, are disposed to think that Master Walter repainted the Chamber after the designs of Master William, the Monk of Westminster, to whom, perhaps under some control from the Fitz Otho's, we are disposed to give the merit of the compositions.—But let us proceed with the art.

The outlines of the subjects seem to have been indicated, sketched, or drawn on the walls, in the several ways following; scratched with a pointed instrument; sketched freely with red chalk; painted firmly and decidedly in reddish brown colour with a hair pencil; painted decidedly with lamp or ivory black; and, with some substance which has perished, leaving a smooth white raised line or ridge on the wall, the plaister on either side having become rough by the action of the air, it would seem, when the colour decayed or was destroyed.

At the early time when these paintings were executed, artists, it is well known, all painted in distemper, coating their pictures with oily varnishes, in order to give effect and durability to the colours, and this, we conceive, was the method of colouring used.

The paintings shortly after they were discovered, according to Mr. Capon, were much disfigured by the improper application of water and the brush; and Mr. Crocker, Master of the works, also observed, as he informs me, that on his applying the sponge, the colours came off the walls. Hence, when some years ago I had an opportunity of examining the paintings, I found that the colours had nearly vanished, except from those of the reveals of the windows.

"In general these works of art," Mr. Capon remarks, "having been painted on an absorbent ground, composed of whiting, and the juice¹ or milk of the fig-leaf, which was floated in a liquid state over the walls, the oil with which the colours were mixed, was quickly imbibed or sucked into the ground, so that in the course of years all the unctuous matter was destroyed." Mr. Capon here assumes, as others have also done, that pure oil was mixed with the colours; we have, indeed, abundant evidence in the accounts stated, of the use of oil in painting the Chamber, but the application of it to the pictures delineated, beyond the purposes of a varnish, may certainly be doubted, for reasons given by writers on ancient painting, which need not be repeated by us: besides, for the mere purposes of house painting or decoration, it is admitted that oil painting was used at this time.

Mr. Faraday, to whom I submitted some fragments of painted stucco from the Chamber, found little combustible matter in the paint, too little to allow of the notion that the paintings were originally in oil. There were spots and fibres of sulphurate of lead, probably the result of a change in the oxide of lead, or red lead originally used.

Mr. Cottingham, F.S.A. has in his possession a fragment from the Painted Chamber, on which a small portion of a subject remains; a dog licking the feet of a beggar, perhaps part of the story of Dives and Lazarus. It is one of the smaller subjects which served to ornament parts of the Chamber, and the long pointed hood of the beggar is similar to the hood worn by peasants at the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th century. This painting, with some other fragments, I submitted to Mr. Phillips,

¹ Vide Sandratt Acciden, Pic. p. 15.

the distinguished member of the Royal Academy, who, writing to me, says, "I still incline to imagine, from the specimens you left with me, that the paintings of figures in the Painted Chamber were in distemper, oiled or varnished over, and not painted having oil blended with the colour; and one reason is, that the surface of paint is most exceedingly thin. There are ornamented parts which are covered thick, but even those have a thin coating which appears to me oil varnish."

In the accounts for works at the palace before referred to in the 17th Edw. I. we have an item for colours and varnishes, which is almost an epitome of the materials used in the colouring the pictures; and as to colour, dark green and red prevail in the draperies.

An example of painting in distemper of the time of King Henry III. is to be seen in the effigies upon the sedilia to the high altar of Westminster Abbey. These paintings are on a coat of fine plaster, upon board, and the colours are mixed and prepared with size or distemper.¹

The gilding upon ornamental parts of our paintings, was found frequently burnished upon a raised composition of a resinous nature, and Mr. Stothard in his notes mentions, that under the composition was seen the tin foil used as he conjectured for the purpose of protecting it from damp. Similar embossed work² occurs on the tomb of Edmund Earl of Lancaster, in Westminster Abbey, whose death³ occurred in 1296. It is also found in other sepulchral memorials, and sometimes in screens, as in one at Southwold⁴ of the fourteenth century.

I now come to the consideration of the technical merits of the works; and, were the paintings themselves accessible, or, perhaps we should say, still in existence, it would hardly be safe to draw any conclusions from the minuter details of execution, since there would always be an uncertainty how much was to be ascribed to restorations: but with respect to the general design, the composition, the action, and intention of the figures, and that part of expression which is conveyed by mien and gesture, the known accuracy of Mr. Stothard warrants us in forming a decided opinion.

The stories are clearly told, and the intention of the figures is frequently excellent; for example in these pictures,—the Mother and her seven sons⁵; Abimelech⁶; Hezekiah⁷; the Captivity of Jehoiachin King of Israel⁸; Elijah and Ahaziah⁹; the Miracles of Elisha¹⁰; and the battle between Judas Macchabeus and Timotheus.¹¹ The action of the hands is remarkable for variety and meaning, as in the figure of Antiochus in the story of the mother and her seven sons; of Jotham in the story of Abimelech; variously in the story of Hezekiah; in the figure of Elijah pronouncing the certainty of the death of Ahaziah; variously in the story of Naaman; in the miracles of Elijah; and in the Pilgrim asking an Alms, in the story of the Confessor and St. John.¹²

One of the very remarkable merits of these works, is the truth with which the drawing of the naked figure is expressed in the few examples that occur, which occasioned Mr. Stothard to remark, "that in the instances where the human figure appears divested of clothing, there is a knowledge of the form displayed which would have shamed subjects executed in this country two hundred years after; and that if it were possible to prove these to be English works, the Italians of the same period could not boast of being our superiors in art."

¹ Vide Sir Joseph Ayloffe's remarks p. 14, Vetust. Mon. vol. II.

² Carter on Ancient Sculpture and Painting, p. 28.

³ Matthew Westminster.

⁴ Some of the mastic composition from the screen at Southwold, was given to the writer by the late Mr. Douce, who informed him, that the Bole-ground in the Painted Chamber was of a similar nature.

⁵ XXX. fig. 2.

⁶ XXXI. fig. 4.

⁷ XXXII.

⁸ XXXIII.

⁹ XXXIV. fig. 9.

¹⁰ XXXIV. fig. 10.

¹¹ XXXVI. fig. 14.

¹² XXXIX. fig. 19, 20.

The early age of the works is sufficiently evident, among other indications, by the almost total absence of foreshortening. The absence even of that degree of roundness which is found in Cimabue, may be owing to the unfinished state of the drawings, or the decayed state of the originals.—There are scarcely any of the type-like and conventional attitudes of the Byzantine and early Italian painters, still less of their peculiar treatment of drapery. The most remarkable feature in these works is, in short, the absence of manner. Perhaps the only usual attitude is that of the expression of grief by leaning the head on the hand; this occurs in the works of Orcagna and elsewhere, but the action is so natural, that it is hardly to be classed among the traditional inventions. Even assuming that the heads may have been occasionally improved in later retouchings, it is probable that the cast of features and general original character are preserved.—In these, there is no approach to the Giottesque style.

The only works of art which these might be found to resemble, would be the manuscripts of the same age; but here again the analogies are rather to be sought in English and French, than in Italian miniatures. The costume abounds with English peculiarities, as will be adverted to hereafter, and the architecture appears to be equally national.

Mr. Stothard inclined to think that the chief part of these paintings were by Italian artists, and he was first led to adopt this opinion, he tells us in his notes, "particularly by the pedimental form above most of the arches, and the shape of the crockets; for, instead of the sweeping arch, adorned with crockets and finials, the latter always appear on pedimental and angular forms." He also observes "that the crockets are all of a remarkable form which is common in Italian work," and he alludes to Orvieto as an example.

In reply, it may be remarked, that the use in England of pediments over arches, occurs at least a century before the period in question; such pediments, for example, exist over the west door of the Church of St. Margaret at Cliffe, in Kent; the south doors of the Churches of St. Margaret, York, and Patricksbourn, Kent; and the great gate of the Church Yard, Bury St. Edmund's, Suffolk; all being works of the 12th century; and this pedimental form became gradually still more common, and occurs so frequently throughout the last half of the 13th century, especially in tombs, that it would be endless to enumerate instances. With respect to the crockets of the form here given, they are to be found of that form in England very plentifully from the earliest use of crockets; one example may be sufficient, the tomb in York Minster, of Archbishop Walter de Grey, who died in 1255.

But it would also appear, that at this period the Italians were very little acquainted with what is termed Gothic architecture; insomuch that in building the Church at St. Francesco at Assisi, in that style, they were obliged to resort to the assistance of a German architect; and it is worthy of remark, that a painting in this church, attributed, by some, to Giunta da Pisa, and which, if not by him, is by some other Italian artist of that period, exhibits much architecture in the scenes represented, but without any Gothic forms whatever. If the tombs by Peter, "*Civis Romanus*," of Edward the Confessor, and Henry III. in Westminster Abbey, be compared with other tombs erected about the same time in England, and in the same church, there will not be found any thing in common

¹ Fes, *Descrizione della Basilica di S. Francesco d'Assisi*, pref. p. vi. art. 8 and note, and part 1, ch. 1, art. 3.

² The Shrine of the Confessor, for which images were making as early as 1236, (Rot. Claus. 20 Hen. III. m. 10.) and to which the body of the Saint was solemnly translated in 1269, (Matt. Paris,) was finished according to the inscription which was to be seen on the Shrine (Dart's Westminster, ii. vol. 25) by Peter, citizen of Rome, in 1280, eight years after the death of Henry III. at whose charges it was begun. It is singular that we find no mention of this Peter in the Public Records of the time.

between them, either in general design or in detail; the work of Peter, (ingeniously supposed by Mr. Vertue to be Peter Cavalini,¹) having none but Roman or base imitations of Roman mouldings and forms, with the exception of a few trefoil-headed arches without Gothic mouldings, and in Edward the Confessor's tomb a capital, the originality of which from its position seems rather doubtful, and some poor imitations in low relief of the windows of the Abbey which the artist saw before him: the other tombs on the contrary have none but pure Gothic forms both in general design and in detail.

The artist who designed the architecture introduced into the subjects of the Painted Chamber, seems to have had his mind so thoroughly imbued with English forms, as no where to introduce any other; the two or three instances of semicircular arches being no exception, as that form still occasionally lingered in English work of the pointed style, at this period. It is also remarkable that the taste of using battlements as ornaments, which was then, as afterward, more prevalent in England than on the Continent, is here so abundantly applied, that even the chariot of Antiochus is battlemented; and, considering how little accustomed Italians were at this time to any other than Roman forms, or rather base imitations of them, such as appear on the tombs of Peter the Roman Citizen, and the painting attributed to Giunta da Pisa before alluded to, it is scarcely to be supposed but that those forms would have been somewhere introduced, had these paintings been by Italian artists.

As to the Cathedral of Orvieto, to which Mr. Stothard refers as an example, it was not begun till 1290, long after the execution of our paintings.

Another circumstance seems to have weighed on Mr. Stothard's mind. He was aware that Vasari attributed to Margaritone, a painter and sculptor of the latter half of the thirteenth century, the art of burnishing gold on mastic, *dare di bolo*,² and he concluded that Italians had been employed to execute the gold embossed work of our paintings.

Della Valle, in his notes to Vasari, speaks of having seen in Apulia, and elsewhere, much earlier examples of this species of art than of the time of Margaritone; and the method is minutely described by Theophilus, a monk of St. Gall of the tenth century, in his treatise de Arte Pingendi. Italy does not seem to have had the merit of the invention; perhaps, however, Margaritone may have brought into general use in Italy, the bole ground for burnishing gold, as well as the making of plaster ornaments in moulds, such as were used for decorating the walls and columns of St. Stephen's Chapel in the time of King Edward III.

If Mr. Stothard's opinion, that these paintings were the work of Italians, had been founded on the composition of the figures, or the treatment of the costume, it would, we must confess, have been entitled to more weight; and the documentary evidence produced touching the paintings, certainly does not tend to confirm his opinion. At the same time it must be admitted, that we had some foreign artists in this country.

¹ Walpole, vol. iii. p. 24. According to some writers, Peter Cavalini was not born till 1279.

² Storia del Duomo di Orvieto. Roma 1791.

³ Bognini in his Riposo, p. 176, edit. Fir. 1730, gives a description of the manner of laying on the Bol armoniac for burnishing gold.

⁴ Raspe on the discovery of oil painting, pp. 68, 88.

⁵ Vide Mr. Capon's remarks, Vetust. Mon. vol. V. and Sir Henry Englefield's description of the plates of the paintings in St. Stephen's.

In accounts of Edw. III. of materials for painting St. Stephen's Chapel.—Smith, pp. 217, 220, occur among other items of a similar nature.

"26 June, (25 Edw. III.) John Lightgrave for six hundred leaves of gold, for painting the tablements of the said Chapel, at 5s. per hundred, 1*l.* 10s.

To the same for twelve leaves of tin for the *liseres* (borders) of the said tablements, 1s.

Gilbert Pockerich for one flagon of cole, and for stupis for printing the painting with impressions, 2*d.*

John Tyndeter for six dozen leaves of tin, for the pryntes for the painting of the same Chapel, 6s."

We naturally now inquire what was the state of art in England during the thirteenth century?

It has been justly remarked by an ornament of the Royal Academy, Mr. Eastlake, that at this period our architecture was more characteristic, and freer from classic influence than in Italy,¹ and such as study the progress of the pointed arch, from its introduction, will feel to what perfection we had arrived, generally, at the commencement of the thirteenth century, in the sculpture of all the varieties of architectural details. The figure of the human head applied to corbels, had assumed beautiful forms, and foliage was luxuriantly displayed with an exquisite delicacy. "Wells Cathedral was finished in 1242, two years after the birth of Cimabue, the restorer of painting in Italy, and the work was going on at the same time that Nicola Pisano, the Italian restorer of sculpture, exercised the art in his own country;" and it seems, as Mr. Flaxman further observes,² "to be the first specimen of such magnificent and varied sculpture, united in a series of sacred history, that is to be found in western Europe." He concludes it to be English art; and, had this eminent sculptor lived to know that the beautiful sepulchral effigies of King Henry III. and Eleanor Queen consort of Edward I. were the work of William Torel,³ Goldsmith, an Englishman, as there is every reason to believe, and that all the statues, excepting one, which adorned the crosses erected by King Edward, from pious regard to the memory of his Queen, were executed by native artists, and not Italians, as was presumed by him, he would not have hesitated to join with Mr. Eastlake, in saying "that our sculpture bid fair to rival the contemporary efforts in Tuscany."

Nor must we omit to speak of the excellence of Walter de Croxton, the goldsmith, who, having executed the King's Exchequer Seal in the 21st year of his reign, was employed in the same year, to make a seal for the King of Norway, presented to him by Henry III.⁴ It was probably the same Walter, the goldsmith, who executed the beautiful seal of King Henry in the third year of his reign.⁵ Another goldsmith, William de Gloucester, designed the effigy of the infant Princess Katharine, which was of wood cased in silver, richly gilt, and set with precious stones and pearls.⁶

Painting seems to have advanced together with sculpture, if we are to judge by the pictures in the Painted Chamber, and there is abundant evidence that this branch of the fine arts flourished under the auspices of King Henry III. and his Queen. Nor will it be irrelevant, if we advert here to some of the principal paintings executed by royal authority during this reign.

To begin with the Palace of Westminster:—*St. Stephen's Chapel*. Edward, son of Otho the goldsmith, whose works in the Painted Chamber we have noticed, and who succeeded his father as master of the works at Westminster, whence he is sometimes sur-

¹ Paper on Fresco Painting, by C. Eastlake, Esq. Appendix to the Report of the Select Committee on the Fine Arts.

² Lectures on Sculpture, delivered before the President and Members of the Royal Academy, p. 16.

³ Vide a valuable paper by the Rev. Joseph Hunter, F.S.A. on the death of Eleanor of Castile, consort of King Edward I. and the honours paid to her memory, *Archæolog.* vol. XXIX. p. 189, and Rolls of the 19th year King Edw. I. containing the payments made by the executors of the Queen, edited, with prefatory remarks, by Beriah Botfield, Esq. for the Roxburghe Club, in a work entitled "Manners and Household Expenses of England in the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, illustrated by original Records."—London, 1841. A family of Torel held lands in Little Thurrook in Essex of the Crown by Serjeanty, as napper of the King's Household, and we find two of the family bearing the Christian name of William, one who died in 1266, (*Inq. P. M.* 51 Hen. III. n. 29.) and another who died in 1289, leaving John, son of John, his grandson and heir, aged eleven years. (*Inq. P. M.* 18 Edw. I. n. 23.) It is not improbable that the sculptor was of this house.

⁴ Rot. Cane. 21 Hen. III.

⁵ Rot. Claus. 3 Hen. III. Hardy, p. 381. Walter bears elsewhere, p. 383, the surname of de Ripa.

⁶ Rot. Cane. 56 Hen. III. London. Compot. Willm de Glouc.

named Edward de Westminster, was ordered in 1245 to have painted on one side of the chancel of St. Stephen's Chapel a beautiful figure of the Blessed Virgin, and on the other side, the King and Queen¹: and in 1250 he was ordered to have the Apostles painted round the Chapel, and on the west side the Last Judgment, and also a statue of the Blessed Virgin for an altar².—*The Antioch Chamber*. In 1250 R. de Sanford, Master of the Knights Templars in England, was ordered to deliver, for the use of the Queen, a large book in his house, written in French, containing the Gestes of Antioch, and of the Kings and others,³ being a History of the Crusades; and the use of this book was to enable Edward de Westminster to paint the Queen's low room in the King's garden at Westminster, and which was to be called the Antioch Chamber⁴.—*The Queen's Chamber*. Odo, the goldsmith, and Edward his son, in 1239 were employed on pictures in the Queen's Chamber at Westminster⁵; and in the following year, Edward Fitz Otho was ordered to paint on the chimney-piece, which was to be raised higher in the same chamber, Winter, with a sorrowful countenance, and all the appropriate accessories⁶; and in 1242, he was ordered to paint in the Queen's Chamber at Westminster, and in other Chambers adjoining, the four Evangelists.⁷—*The King's Wardrobe*. John de St. Omer in 1249 was ordered, among other things, to paint the King's Wardrobe at Westminster in the manner the same was begun⁸. In 1256 the King, in presence of Master William the painter, a monk of Westminster, lately at Winchester, contrived and gave orders for a picture to be made at Westminster, in the Wardrobe, where he was accustomed to wash his face, representing the King who was rescued by his dogs from the seditions which were plotted against him by his subjects, respecting which same picture the King had addressed letters to Edward de Westminster, and the King commanded Philip Luvel his Treasurer, and the aforesaid Edward of Westminster, to cause the said Master William to have his costs and charges for painting the aforesaid picture.⁹

The Shrine of St. Edward at Westminster.—In 1252 Edward de Westminster was ordered in the new work of the construction of the Shrine of the Blessed Edward at Westminster, to make a Chapel, and that upon the walls should be painted the story of St. Edward, and to have the low chamber wainscotted, on which should be painted the

¹ D' pictur faciend. Manda' est Edwardo filio Odonis, qd in exiori pte sedis p in Capilla Scti Stephi Westm, sicut iatrat in capilla decedendo de Aula, bñ depingi faciat pteram t decent' imaginē Sctē Marie, t ex alia pte cancelli vñus hostium gardini imagines Regis t Regine. Ita qd pate sint t bn depicte in pximo adventu p ibidem. T. p. apud Clarendon vj die Feb.—*Rot. Claus.* 29 Hen. III. m. 15.

² Rot. Claus. 34 Hen. III. m. 7. Vide Walpole, vol. iii. p. 18.

³ D' qdam libro lib ad op^o Regine.—Mand est fñ p de Sanford, Magro Milicie Templi in Angl, qd fac hñ Hen^o de Warderoba lator pñenciā ad op^o Regine qndam librum magnū qui est in domo sua Lond, gallico ydiomate scriptum, in quo continent gesta Antiochie t Regum ac etiam aliq. T. p. apud Westm xvij die Maij.—*Rot. Claus.* 31 Hen. III. m. 12.

⁴ Mandatum est Edwardo de Westm, quod Judaismū Regis apud Westm et magnū celariū vino p lambruscar et bassam casiam in gardino p, et pnam turrellam ultra Capellam ibidem, depingi, et in eadem Casia unum caminū fi fac, quam quidem Casiam Antiochi volum^o appellari.—*Rot. Claus.* 35 Hen. III. m. 10.

⁵ Rot. Liberat. 23 Hen. III. vide Walpole, p. 16.

⁶ D' qdā Camino depingendo. Mand est Edwardo filio Odonis custodi opū suorū de Westm, q camini camere Regine nre alt^o extolli fac t ipā camini depingi faciat. Depingi t fac camini casle pñe t i eo pñe imaginē hyemis q tā vultu tristi q alia corpis pñtibz miseris ipā hyemi nñto possit assimilari. T. p. apud Westm xx die Jan.—*Rot. Liberat.* 24 Hen. III. m. 19.

⁷ Rot. Claus. 27 Hen. III. p. 1. m. 13.

⁸ Rot. Claus. 33 Hen. III. m. 3. Vide Walpole, p. 17.

⁹ p de Pictura.—p in pñencia magri Wiñi Pictoris, monachi Westm, nup ap Winton ordinavit t pvidit qndam picturam faciendā ap Westm in Garderoba ubi capud suū lavari consuetum est, de p qui p canes suos rescussus fuit de sedicōnibz ab hoibz suis ad vñus eundē Regē plocutis, de qua quidem pictura vñs Edward de Westm p alias lit^{as} destinavit. Et mand est Pño Luvel Thei suo t pñto Edwardo de Westm, qd eidem magro Wito sumpt^o t etum ad pñcam pict^{am} faciendā sū dilone hñ fac. Et cū etum illum scivit p bre suū de libate eis inde hñ fac. T. p. apud Winton xxx die Jun.—*Rot. Claus.* 40 Hen. III. m. 6.

story of St. Eustachius, and in the window of the gable the story of Solomon and Marculph¹.

The Tower of London.—*The Chapel of St. John the Evangelist.* In 1240, the keepers of the King's works of the Tower of London were required to have the Chapel there of St. John the Evangelist, whitewashed, and to have three painted glass windows made for the same; one, on the north side, with Mary and her Child; another, on the south, with the Trinity, and the third with St. John; and to paint, with good colours, the cross and beam on the further side of the altar; and in the Chapel, the story of St. Edward giving the ring to St. John².—*The Chapel of St. Peter.* The same keepers of the King's works were further ordered to cause the screens, stalls, tabernacles, and figures of certain Saints in the Church of St. Peter, within the Tower of London, to be repaired; and to have painted St. Peter in his pontificals, and St. Christopher carrying Jesus; and to make two beautiful pictures with the stories of St. Nicholas and St. Catharine, for their respective altars³.—*The King's Chamber.* In 1251, Edward of Westminster was ordered to have painted, in the King's Chamber in the Tower of London, the history of Antioch, as Thomas Espervir should direct him⁴.

Windsor Castle.—*The King's Chapel.* The keepers of the works at Windsor, in 1242, were ordered to have the Old and New Testament painted in the King's Chapel⁵. This painting seems to have been delayed till 1248, when on the 18th of March, Peter of Geneva was commanded, out of the issues of the lands of aliens in his custody, to pay brother William the painter, Monk of Westminster, ten marks, to buy colours to paint the King's Chapel of Windsor⁶; and in June following, Godfrey de Liston was commanded, out of the issues of his bailiwick, to pay the same Master William one hundred shillings for painting the same Chapel, and to furnish scaffolding for the pictures⁷. In the month of August following, John Silvester and Master Simon the carpenter, keepers of the works at Windsor, were commanded to pay Master William the painter his wages weekly, as they were accustomed to be paid⁸. In 1249, the Barons of the Exchequer were commanded to allow to Godfrey de Liston in his accounts, among other things, two marks paid by him to Master William the painter for painting the Chapel at Windsor, and forty shillings to buy colours, and eighteen shillings which he had paid to John Sot the painter for his wages⁹.—*The King's Cloister.* Simon the Chaplain, and the other keepers of the

¹ D' opacionibz faciendis apud Westm.—Mand est Eduardo de Westm qd in novo ope fabrice feretri bi Eduuardi apud Westm n'i fac vnam capellam ubi coñtodiis n'i possit t sit longitudinis xl pedum t latitudinis xx t quinq, pedum t muri sint de plast' paris t depingat' in eadem capilla historia Sci Eduuardi; t bassam cañlam lambruscari fac in qua depingat' historia Sci Eustachii t in fenest' gabuli historia Salamonis t Marculphi. T. p. apud Gillingham ix die Dec, p. p.—*Rot. Claus.* 37 Hen. III. m. 22.

² Rot. Liberat. 25 Hen. III. m. 20.

³ Vide Walpole, p. 14.

⁴ D' Pictura fac in cañla p in turri Lond.—Mand est eidem Eduuardo (de Westm.) qd depingi fac historiam Antiochi in cañla p Turris Lond sicut ei dicit Thoñi Espirvir, et c'tum quod ad hoc possit p ei fac allocari. T. p. ap. Wint v die Jun.—*Rot. Claus.* 35 Hen. III. m. 11.

⁵ D' pict' is faciend.—Mandatum est custodiibz opaconum de Windles qd in capilla p depingi faciant vet' testamenti t novu t qd clausit p ibidem lambruscari fac. T. p. apud Burd. x. die April.—*Rot. Claus.* 27 Hen. III. p. 1. m. 10.

⁶ P quodam Picture.—p do t fi suo Petro de Geneue salt. Mandam' vob qd de exitibz t'arum alienigenoꝝ que sunt in c'todia v'ra t're faciatis fri Willo Pictori monacho Westm x marc ad emendum colores ad capillam n'ram de Windles depingend' de dono n'ro Et comp' vob ad sc'm. T. p. ap. Walsingham xvij die Mar.—*Rot. Liberat.* 32 Hen. III. m. 9.

⁷ D' Pictura de Windles.—p Godefro de Lyston saltm. Precipim' t qd de exitibz bañie tue fac t're Magro Willo Pictori n'ro de Windles C solid' ad depingendam capellam n'ram de Windles sic ei inuixim' t n'i fac scaffocia ad op' e'p'dem Picture. Et comp' t' ad sc'm. T. p. ap. Winton xj die Jun.—*Rot. Liberat.* 32 Hen. III. m. 5.

⁸ p Magro Willo Picture.—Mand est J. Silvest' t Magro S. carptario c'todiibz opaconum suaz de Windles qd singlis septim solvi fac Magro Willo Pictori stipendia sua sicut solve p septim consuevnt usq, adventum p ap Windles. T. p. ap. Oxon xxvij die Aug.—*Rot. Claus.* 32 Hen. III. m. 3.

⁹ Comp' p Godeff de Liston.—p Baronibz suis de sc'm saltm. Computate Godefro de Liston Baño n'ro in exitibz Bañie sue ij marc q's libavit p pceptum n'ram magro Willo Pictori ad capillam n'ram de Windleshouf depingendam. Computate t eidem in eisdem exitibz C solid' quos libavit p pceptum n'ram magro Simoi carptario n'ro ad pavimentum cañle

King's works at Windsor, were ordered, in 1251, among other things, to cause the Apostles to be painted in the King's Cloister at Windsor Castle, as the King had enjoined him and Master William his painter'.—*The King's Chamber; the Queen's Chamber; and the Chapels.* In March 1256, Gilbert de Tile, bailiff of the town of Windsor, was commanded to pay to brother William the Painter of Westminster, five marks out of the farm of the town, for repairing certain pictures in the King and Queen's Chambers and the Royal Chapels at Windsor¹; and in May following, the bailiffs of Windsor were ordered to pay the same Master William forty shillings to buy colours for painting in the castle at Windsor²; and Godfrey de Liston, keeper of the manors of Cookham and Bray, was commanded, that from the octave of Easter then last, and so long as he overlooked the painters of the King's Castle at Windsor, he should pay to the King's beloved Master William the painter, Monk of Westminster, two shillings per day for his wages³. In August 1260, Edward de Westminster was specially required by the King to provide William, Monk of Westminster, the King's painter, with colours and other things necessary for renewing the paintings at Windsor⁴; and it appears from an order addressed to Richard de Freitmantel, keeper of the manors of Cookham and Bray, that the paintings to be renewed, were those in the King's Chapel and Chamber at the Castle of Windsor⁵.

The Castle of Winchester.—*The King's Chamber.* The Sheriff of Southampton, in 1233, was commanded to have the King's wainscoted Chamber, in the Castle of Winchester, painted with the same histories and pictures as had been before painted there⁶. In 1237, the Sheriff of Southampton was commanded to have coloured green, and starred with gold, the chamber at Winchester in which were painted the histories of the Old and New Testament⁷. In 1245, the Sheriff of Southampton was commanded to find Master Nigel, the painter, necessary colours for restoring the pictures of the King's houses at Winchester, and to pay him twenty shillings for his maintenance⁸.—*The Queen's Chapel.* In 1248, the Sheriff of Southampton was commanded, out of the issues of the county, to cause to be painted in the Queen's Chapel at Winchester, against the west gable, St.

nre faciendū. Comp̃ t̃ eidē in eisdem exitibz xl solid̃ quos libavit p̃ p̃ceptum ñm p̃dco Wltho Pictori ad colores emendos. Comp̃ t̃ eidem in eisdem exitibz xvij solid̃ quos libavit p̃ p̃ceptū ñm Johi Sot pictori p̃ stipendiis suis. T. R. ap. Westm̃ xliij die Octobr̃.—*Rot. Liberat.* 33 Hen. III. m. 1.

Vide Rot. Canc. 37 Hen. III. Berks. where Godfrey de Liston renders an account of the payments noticed in the above order.

¹ Rot. Claus. 35 Hen. III. m. 5. Vide Walpole, p. 20.

² D' Picturis renovand̃ ap̃ Windex.—p̃ Gilbto de Tegula Balio ville de Windex salm. Precipim⁹ t̃ q̃d f̃ri Wltho Pictori de Westm̃ sū ditione h̃re fac̃ ṽ marc̃ de firma ville p̃dco ad q̃sdam piet̃as in Casa ñra t̃ casa Regie ñre t̃ in capellis ñris ap̃ Windex renovandas t̃ emendandas. Et comp̃ t̃c. T. R. ap. Walsingh'm xv die Mart.—*Rot. Liberat.* 40 Hen. III. m. 12.

³ p̃ Ballis suis Windex salm. Precipim⁹ vob̃ q̃d de exitibus ballie ṽre fac̃ h̃re dīco nob̃ mag̃ro Wltho Pictori monacho Westm̃ xl s̃ ad colores varios emendos ad domos Cas̃ ñri de Windex depingendas. Et comp̃ t̃c. T. R. ap. Rading. xvj die Maij.—*Rot. Liberat.* 40 Hen. III. m. 9.

⁴ D' picturis in Castro Windex.—p̃ Godeff de Liston custodi mañioꝝ suoꝝ de Cokh'm t̃ Bray salm. Precipim⁹ t̃ q̃d ab octab̃ Pasche p̃xio p̃t̃itis in antea t̃ q̃ndiu intenderit depictoribz domoꝝ castri ñri Windex fac̃ h̃ere dīco nob̃ mag̃ro Wltho Pictori monacho Westm̃ duos sot̃ p̃ diem p̃ stipend̃ suis t̃ comp̃ t̃c. T.—*Rot. Liberat.* 40 Hen. III. m. 9.

⁵ p̃ Rege de Coloribz ad picturam Windex. Mand̃ est Eduardo de Westm̃ q̃d colores t̃ alia ad picturam necessaria sine ditione fac̃ h̃re Wltho Monacho Westm̃ pictori p̃ ad picturas p̃ apud Windex inde renovandas p̃ut idem fratr̃ Wltho p̃dco Eduardo dicet ex pte p̃. Et hoc sicut p̃ dilig̃it nō omittat. Et cū p̃ scrip̃it custū quod ad hoc possit p̃ bre suū de liberate sibi h̃re fac̃. T. R. apud Windex xliij die Aug⁹ t̃i p̃ ipm Regem.—*Rot. Claus.* 44 Hen. III. p. 1. m. 6.

⁶ Rot. Liberat. 44 Hen. III. m. 5. apud Windex viij die Augusti.

⁷ Rot. Liberat. 17 Hen. III. m. 6. Vide Walpole, p. 13, and the Sheriff's accounts rendered for this work Rot. Canc. 18 Hen. III. Southampton.

⁸ Rot. Liberat. 22 Hen. III. m. 3. Vide Walpole, p. 15, and the Sheriff's Accounts Rot. Canc. 20 and 22 Hen. III. Southampton.

⁹ D' picturis Wintoñ.—Mand̃ est ṽre Southampton q̃d inveniat mag̃ro Nigello pictori colores necessarios quos ei nominabit ad innovand̃ picturas domoꝝ p̃ Wintoñ u' necesse fūit t̃ eidē N. fac̃ h̃re xx. ad sustentem suam ibidem in s̃vicio p̃; eandem t̃ domos p̃ visum mag̃ri Gerardi carpentari t̃ Nichi Kuppung u' indiget repaço repaꝝ fac̃. Et cust̃ t̃c. p̃ visum eop̃dē 9p̃, t̃c. T. R. apud Wharwell vij die Feb.—*Rot. Liberat.* 29 Hen. III. m. 10.

Christopher, as he is usually represented, carrying Christ in his arms; and the blessed King Edward, how he gave the ring to a certain pilgrim, whose figure was also to be drawn'.—*The King's new Chapel*. In 1250 the story of Joseph was painted in the King's new Chapel at Winchester, and the chapel paved with painted tile;—Rosamond's Chamber was also at the same time painted¹.

The Palace of Woodstock.—*The Chapel*. In 1232, the keeper of the King's houses at Woodstock was commanded to have painted in the King's round Chapel there, the Lord in Majesty, and the four Evangelists, and on one side St. Edmund, and on the other St. Edward². *The Hall*.—In 1248, the painting in the Hall at Woodstock was ordered to be repaired, and in a certain exchequer to be made in the Hall, the motto to be inscribed, *Qui non dat quod habet, non accipit ille quod optat*³.

Guildeford Castle.—*The Chapel*. In 1235, two tablets were executed for the Chapel at Guildeford, one with the Crucifixion and Mary and John, and the other with the Lord in Majesty and the four Evangelists⁴; and in 1260 the story of St. Edward and St. John holding the ring in his hand, were painted in the Chapel on the wall, near the King's seat, and an image made and painted of the Blessed Virgin⁵. *The Great Chamber* and other Apartments.—In October 1259, the Sheriff of Surrey was commanded, out of the issues of the county, to cause the paintings to be repaired in the great Hall at Guildeford; and in the great Chamber, at the head of the King's bed, to have painted a certain pall, and to have frontals made for the altars for the great Chapel, as the King had ordered William of Florence the painter⁶.

In 1267, the Sheriff of Surrey and Sussex was commanded, out of the issues of those counties, to have certain apartments built for the use of Eleanor, the wife of Prince Edward, and of Eleanor the Queen Consort, in the Palace of Guildeford, according to the order given to William of Florence, the King's painter⁷; and the same Sheriff was further ordered, during his Sherifdom, to pay to William of Florence, keeper of the King's works at Guildeford, sixpence a day for his wages whilst he remained keeper of the works, as he was accustomed to receive in times past, before the disturbances in the kingdom⁸.

The Palace at Clarendon.—In 1250 the King ordered to be painted at Clarendon the History of Antioch, and King Richard's Single Combat⁹.

Nottingham Castle.—*The Queen's Chamber*.—In 1252, the Sheriff of Nottingham was

¹ Rot. Liberat. 32 Hen. III. m. 6. Vide Walpole, p. 17.

² Rot. Canc. 35 Hen. III. Southampton.

³ Rot. Liberat. 17 Hen. III. m. 10. Vide Walpole, p. 13, and Rot. Canc. 17 Hen. III. Southampton.

⁴ Rot. Liberat. 33 Hen. III. Walpole, p. 17.

⁵ Rot. Cancell. 19 Hen. III. Surrey.

⁶ Ibid. 45 Hen. III.

⁷ D' pictura p̄ ap̄ Guldef. p̄ viē Sur̄ salm. Precipim⁹ tibi qd̄ de exitib⁹ coñi vñ picturas magne aule nre de Guldeford put nre fuit sine dilone emendari t̄ in magna Camera nra ibidem ad capud lecti nri sup̄ albū murū q̄dam palliū depingi t̄ tabulas t̄ fruntell̄ altaris magne capelle nre ibidem aū dilone fi fac̄ put̄ inuixim⁹ Witto florentino pictori. Et custum qd̄ ad hoc possib⁹ p̄ visum t̄ testimoniū p̄borum t̄ leḡ hominū comp̄, t̄. T. me ip̄o ap̄ Westm̄ xxx die Octobr̄.

—Rot. Liberat. 44 Hen. III. m. 11.

The Sheriff accounts for his payments to William of Florence, in the following year.—Vide Rot. Canc. 45 Hen. III. Surrey.

⁸ D' domib⁹ repandis.—p̄ viē Sur̄ t̄ Suū salm. Precipimus tibi qd̄ de exitib⁹ coñi p̄dcoz infra curiam nram ibidē nri de Guldeford q̄dam canūm cū stadio t̄ camino garderocha t̄ canū forinseca t̄ q̄ndam capellam ad capud eiusdem canūe cum stadio t̄ fenestris vitreis easdem canūm t̄ capellam decentib⁹ ad opus Karissime fil̄ nostre Alianore consoris Eduuardi primogeniti nri et unū canūm cū stadio t̄ camino camera forinseca t̄ fenestris vitreis eandem camerā decentib⁹, ad opus militum Karissime consoris nre Alianore Regine Angl̄, t̄ quoddam appenticū ibidem de novo sine dilatione fieri t̄ herbariū eiusdem Regine nre repari t̄ emendari fac̄ scdm̄ qd̄ Witto Florentyn pictori nro inuiximus t̄ idem Witto plenius t̄ scire fac̄ ex pte nra. Et cust, t̄. —Rot. Liberat. 52 Hen. III. m. 11.

⁹ Witto Florentino custodi domoy de Guldeford. p̄ eidem viē salm. Precipimus t̄ qd̄ de exitib⁹ coñi p̄dcoz fac̄ bre Witto Florentin custodi opaconum nroz manū nri de Guldeford singulis dieb⁹ sex denar̄ p̄ stipendiis suis q̄dm̄ fuis viē nri eoydem coñi t̄ p̄dcoz Witto custos fuit opaconum p̄dcoz sic̄ eos tempib⁹ retroactis ante t̄ bacem hitam in regno ibidē pcipe consuevit. t̄. T. p̄ apud Westm̄. xx die Jan.—Rot. Lib. 52 Hen. III. m. 11. Vide Rot. Canc. 52 Hen. III. Surrey.

¹⁰ D' opac̄ ap̄d Clarendon p̄ viē Wiltes salm. Precipim⁹ t̄ qd̄ fac̄ lambruscari canūm nram sub capella nra t̄ murum ex t̄ mūdo illius canūe amouē t̄ in eadem canūa historiam Antiochie t̄ duellum Regē Ric̄i depingi t̄ lambruscariam illam depingi viridi colore cum scintillis aureis, t̄. —Rot. Liberat. 35 Hen. III.

ordered to have painted all around the Queen's Chamber, at Nottingham, the History of Alexander.

Northampton Castle.—In 1252, the Sheriff of Northampton was ordered to have made, in the Castle of Northampton, windows of white glass which should be painted with the story of Dives and Lazarus¹.

Dublin Castle.—In 1243 the King ordered a Hall to be built in Dublin Castle, and on the further side of the dais, to have painted the King and Queen seated with their Barons².—

Without multiplying examples of the taste displayed for painting by King Henry, whose magnificence often involved him in difficulties, we will turn to the Painters employed in the Painted Chamber.

Prior to the fire in 1262 the chief painters appear to have been Otho the Goldsmith and Edward his son, and Master William, the Monk of Westminster; Peter de Hispania having restored the painting of the story of Joseph in the King's Oratory adjoining the Chamber.

As to the Fitz Othos, they were the descendants, it would seem, of Otto or Otho the Goldsmith, who held lands in Essex and Suffolk at the time of the Conqueror's Survey, together with the office of Cuneator, or manager of the dies of the Royal Mint, an hereditary serjeanty, which in the 49th Henry III. was vested in Thomas Fitz Otho³.

Otho was in employment at Westminster in 1234⁴, and at work in the Painted Chamber, as we have seen⁵, in 1236 and 1237, being in the latter year master of the works at Westminster⁶. In 1239⁷ we find him painting at the palace with his son Edward. In the following year⁸, Edward Fitz Otho became sole master of the works at Westminster, and assumed the surname of De Westminster; he was subsequently keeper of the shrine⁹ of St. Edward, in which office the Prior and Sacrist of St. Peter's Monastery were joined with him in 1260¹⁰. Robert de Beverley, the king's mason, and others, were joint keepers with Edward de Westminster in 1264 of the works at Westminster¹¹.

The merit of Edward de Westminster as a painter was probably not equal to that of his father Otho, for apparently upon his decease or retirement, about the year 1240, and the appointment of the son to be master of the works, Master William, a monk at Westminster, became the King's chief painter.

In 1240 the King gave to Master William the Painter, the office of Painter of the Priory of St. Swithin's, Winchester, then in the king's hands, by reason of the vacancy of the bishopric: commanding the prior to give him the issues of the office until the King should come into those parts¹².

This is the first mention we have of William the King's painter, and it occurs just at a time when we hear no more of Otho. If the accounts of works at the palace of this period should come to light, in all probability, it would be found, that William, the monk at

¹ Rot. Liberat. 36 Hen. III. m. 15. Jan. 15. Walpole, p. 20.

² Rot. Liberat. 36 Hen. III. m. 15. Walpole, p. 20.

³ Mandatum est Justiciari Hybn et G. de Turvill Theſ Hybn qd—et de pquisitis et fi fac in Castro Dublin vnam aulam continens sexties xx pedes in longitudine et quat xx in latitudine et cum fenestis et verinis ad modum aule Cant quam satis viderit et fieri faciant in gablo ult' Deisium unam fenestram rotundā. xxx pedes in qualibet pte rotunditatis continentem: Depingi etiā fac ult' idem Deisium Regem et Reginam sedentes cum Barnagio suo. Fieri etiam fac ad introitum ejusdem aule magnum portallum. Ita qd dñs et aulam illā ex toto scām in aduentu suo inveniat. T. et apud Burd' xxiij die April.—Rot. Claus. 27 Hen. III. p. 1. m. 9.

⁴ Vide Sir Henry Ellis's Remarks; Introduction and Indexes to Domesday Book, vol. i. p. 462.

⁵ Rot. Canc. 18 Hen. III.

⁶ Vide antea, p. 8.

⁷ Rot. Lib. 21 Hen. III. m. 5. 2 Aug.

⁸ Ibid. 23 Hen. III. Vide Walpole, p. 15.

⁹ Rot. Lib. 24 Hen. III. m. 19. Ibid. m. 20.

¹⁰ Ibid. 26 Hen. III. p. 1. m. 18. Rot. Claus. 27 Hen. III. p. 1. m. 3.

¹¹ Ibid. 35 Hen. III. m. 10.

¹² Rot. Claus. 44 Hen. III. p. 2.

¹³ Rot. Lib. 44 Hen. III. m. 2.

¹⁴ Rot. Canc. 53 Hen. III. Computus Johannis le Faucoi.

¹⁵ P magro Willo Pictore.—et tulit magro Willo pictori officia pictarie priorat' Scti Swithuni Winton' rōe Epas' Winton' vacatis et manu et existētis et mand est priori Scti Swithuni Winton' qd de officio illo cu libatibz ad idē officia ptenētibz salisiam ei hre fac don' et ad ptes illas veniūt. T. et apud Rading' viij die April.—Rot. Claus. 24 Hen. III. m. 13.

Westminster, had been previously working under the Othos upon the paintings in the Painted Chamber, for we see him in 1248 painting similar subjects, that is to say, histories from the Old and New Testament, in the Chapel at Windsor, where he continued painting till 1251 inclusive¹; and in the following year we find him engaged in restoring the paintings of the Great Chamber at Westminster².

It was in 1256 that he designed and executed the allegorical subject in the King's Wardrobe at Westminster; and in 1259, that he painted Jesse on the mantel-piece of the King's chamber there, and repaired the paintings of the same chamber, as we have seen³. In the latter year, when John, the King's mason, was to make the King's Lectron, he was ordered to execute it under the directions of Master William the painter, and also to take to the house where the said William worked, the Cross in the chapel of the Infirmary at Westminster⁴.

In 1260 he was again employed in restoring the paintings at Windsor⁵; after which, he seems to have been succeeded as chief painter to the King by Master Walter, of whom we shall speak presently; William, however, was living so late as 1272, in which year he received twenty marks for painting the tabernacle round the King's bed in his Chamber at Westminster⁶.

In vain have I searched the episcopal archives at Winchester, where William held the office of painter in the Priory of St. Swithin, for traces of the school of Design there, or of the painter under consideration. It was, however, not unobserved by me, when I wrote upon the Benedictional⁷ of St. Ethelwold, that the monks of Winchester at an early time excelled in painting, and I have recorded the names of some of their painters.

Walpole concluded⁸, hastily, as it would seem, that William, the monk of Westminster, and William of Florence, another painter employed by King Henry III. were the same person. As to William of Florence, I do not find his name mentioned until the year 1259, and it appears always in conjunction with the Castle at Guildford⁹; and in the very years that he was actively painting there, William, the monk of Westminster, was restoring his own paintings at Westminster and at Windsor¹⁰. William of Florence appears to have held for several years the office of Master of the Works at Guildford, and to have received for his wages, as a painter, sixpence a day, while William, the monk of Westminster, employed in various places, was receiving two shillings a day.

The Monastery of St. Alban's would seem at this period, not to have been deficient in taste. Walter de Colchester, sacrist of the Monastery in 1219, is described by Matthew of Paris, as "*Pictor et Sculptor incomparabilis*"¹¹. When John de St. Omer in 1249 was to make a Lectron for the Chapter-house at Westminster, he was ordered to do it after the design of that in the Chapter-house at St. Alban's, or more beautiful, if it could be¹². Workmen from St. Alban's occur in the accounts of works at Westminster in 37 Hen. III.¹³ Matthew of Paris, a monk of St. Alban's, has left us in his MS. life of the two Offas in the Cotton Collection, Nero, D. i. various miniatures in outline, some of which we refer to hereafter, in illustration of subjects in the Painted Chamber. As works of art, they do

¹ Vide p. 21, antea.

² Vide p. 9, antea.

³ Vide pp. 20, 9, antea.

⁴ De ferruris ad lectinū R.—Mand est magro Johi Cementario R qd sine dñoe fac ferruram lectrini R apud Westm juxta ordinacōem magri Wilfr Pictoris R t deferri fac patibulū quod est in capilla infirmatorii Westm ad domū ubi pñcus magri Wilfr opatur t hoc facē nullaten⁹ omittat. T. H. le Bigod, Justic apud Walingford, ij die Marc.—*Rot. Claus.* 43 Hen. III. m. 12.

⁵ Vide page 22, antea.

⁶ "Et magro Wilho pictori monacho Westm p tabnaclo depicto cīca lectū R in cañia sua ap Westm. xx. ñi."—*Rot. Canc.* 56 Hen. III. *Comput. Will. de Glouc.*

⁷ *Archæol.* vol. XXIV. p. 1.

⁸ Vol. iii. p. 22.

⁹ Vide p. 23, antea.

¹⁰ Vide pp. 9, 22, antea, and *Rot. Claus.* 43 Hen. III. m. 12, above noticed.

¹¹ *Vite S. Albani Abbatum*, p. 122. *Matt. Paris, Opera*, Lond. 1640. Vide also pp. 106, 112, 124, where the author speaks of some of the works of Walter de Colchester.

¹² *Rot. Claus.* 33 Hen. III. m. 3. Walpole, p. 122.

¹³ Vide notice of this roll postea, p. 26.

not deserve notice; but in the same volume, folio 55, is a remarkable miniature in outline of our Saviour, "Brevis descriptio Domini," represented from the Vision of St. John, in the first chapter of the Apocalypse. The drawing is much faded, and there has been an attempt by some unskilful hand to retrace the outline: enough, however, remains of the original, to perceive, that it possesses extraordinary merit for the time it was executed, and we notice it here, because it is English art, for on this miniature is inscribed, in red letters, "Hoc opus fecit frater Willelmus de Ordine Minorum, socius Beati Francisci, secundus in Ordine ipso, conversacione sanctus, nacione Anglus".

With respect to Peter de Hispania, we find his name mentioned, for the first time, in accounts² of works at Westminster for the 37th year of King Henry III. (1253), when the Great Hall was repaired. In 1255 he was ordered to repair the painting in the King's Oratory near his bed³. In 1257, the King ordered his Treasurer and Chamberlain to pay to Master Peter de Hispania, whom he had retained in his service to make pictures when required, sixpence for his wages daily, so long as he was employed in the King's service: and also to pay to the same Peter ten pounds for his expenses in going, with his clerk of Toulouse, to parts beyond the seas, and in returning; and for two shields which he had made for the King's use, and brought to him at Chester⁴. These shields were probably enamelled, and we suspect that Peter de Hispania excelled in the art of decoration. In 1272, in accounts of William de Gloucester, the King's goldsmith, a payment occurs to Peter de Hispania of fourscore pounds for two tablets excellently painted, and placed before the altar of the Blessed Virgin in the Church of St. Peter at Westminster⁵. As the wages of Peter were only sixpence a day, this large price paid him must have been owing to the rich materials of the tablets, which doubtless were intended for the frontal⁶ of the altar.

A frontal of this description, much injured, is still to be seen in Westminster Abbey, being an exquisite work of painting and enamelling, set off with gold, marbles, cameos, and precious stones⁷. It is not unlikely to be the work of Peter de Hispania. In the collection of the Society of Antiquaries is a drawing in outline of the general design of the frontal; and also copies of a figure of St. Peter, and of some ornamental portions remaining. The folds of the drapery are better arranged than what are found in the figures of the Painted Chamber; and there is a more sober tone of colouring throughout, and an olive complexion, that time would hardly have given to the painting.

After the fire in the Palace of Westminster in 1262, Master Walter, then the King's

¹ Among the early disciples of St. Francis, was a Gulielmus Anglicus, famous for his learning and sanctity, and who died at Assisi, and was buried near the body of St. Francis in 1232; also a William Euseby, who held many offices in the Order, and was first guardian at Oxford; and, among several other Englishmen of the Order about this time, bearing the Christian name of William, a William of Nottingham, Provincial of the Order.—Collectanea Anglo-Minoritica; Franciscus a Sancta Clara, in Hist. Min. Prov. Angl.

² Opus Curie.—In stipend magri Peti de Hispania Pictoris, lxxijj.

In stipend x pictorū in magna aula ult^a mensā pingentiū. Ct x. s. a. j. d.

In Quingenta una duodena auri ad picturā, xxiiij. s. xj. d.

In aliis diversis coloribz ad pīcam picturā, xxix. sof. ix. d.

Compt^r div^r Operationū Ecc^e Capituli Berofridi et Curie Westm^r anno r. r. Henr. xxxvij^o.—In the Queen's Remembrancer's Office, Westminster, marked H. C. H. 3274.

³ Vide page 9, antea.

⁴ P^r Pet^r de Hispaniā. R^e Thesaurarⁱ Cañarⁱ suis salm. Libate de The^s nro magro Petro de Hispaniā quem in vicio nro retinim⁹ ad depicōnes nras faciendas cum nōce fūit singulis diebz a festo Assumpcōnis beate Marⁱ anno r. f. xij q^uadriu moram fecit in vicio nro in officio predicto sex denarⁱ p stipendiis suis. Libate t^e eidem Petro decē lib^r p expensis suis quas fecit in eundo cum Cleo Tholo⁹ ad ptes t^rnsmarinas de pcepto nro t^e in redeundo de pibz illis t^e p duobz scutis que fecit ad op⁹ nrm t^e ad nos deportavit usq^{ue} Cest^r t^e p quibzdam aliis areraz in quibz ei tenem^r p vicio suo. T^e me ipso ap⁹ Cest^r xvj. die Aug⁹ti.—Rot. Liberat. 41 Hen. III. m. 3.

⁵ Et magro Pet^r de Ispannia p ij tabulis decē⁹ depictis t^e depōitis an altare be Marie in eccl^a Westm^r iij. li.—Rot. Canc. 56 Hen. III. Compt. Will. de Glouc. London.

⁶ Mr. Vertue speaks of this beautiful frontal in his Dissertation upon the Monument of Edward the Confessor.—Archæolog. vol. I. p. 37. It is now preserved under glass, and hangs against the back of the enclosure of the Choir, on the South side, towards the East end.

⁷ Vide Ducange, in voce Tabula.

chief painter, was employed in repainting the Painted Chamber. This painter was Walter de Durham, and the King seems to have rewarded him with a fee of a hundred shillings yearly.¹ He also had a payment made to him of forty shillings for the losses which he sustained in the King's service during the disturbances in the kingdom.² When this artist restored the paintings of the Great Chamber in 1292, and subsequently, his wages were at the rate of a shilling a day.

The heart of Alianore, Queen Consort of Edward I. was deposited in the Church of the Friars Preachers in London, and the skill of Walter was displayed in decorating the shrine. In the payments made to him for this painting, his name sometimes occurs as Master Walter the painter, and sometimes as Walter de Durham the painter.³ He also at the same time executed some work about the tomb of the Queen in Westminster Abbey.⁴ His son Thomas was painting with him in 1294, and receiving sixpence a day for his wages,⁵ which he continued to receive in the first year of King Edward II. when he was master of the works at Westminster, and bearing the surname⁶ of de Westminster. Among the painters employed both by the father and the son, in the accounts we have referred to, the names of any foreigners do not occur.

III. It remains for us now to describe the subjects engraved from Mr. Stothard's drawings.

South side of the chamber, paintings on the first or lowest band.

Plate XXX. 1. This painting, like others in our series of drawings, represents the different actions of a story. In the centre, is the meeting of two kings or chiefs at the gate of a city. One of the kings stands within the entrance, while the other is approaching, attended by his men. The hands of the chief going into the city are raised and spread, and his head uplifted, with looks as if forboding evil. Within, two scenes are depicted; the upper, which is nearly defaced, seems to represent a crowned head listening with concern to an individual who has a sword in his hand; the traces of the lower are too faint to admit of a conjecture on the subject. Without the city, the tracing is discernible of two figures, one apparently thrusting his sword into the groin of the other.

Supposing these details to be correct, they are perhaps intended to represent the story⁷ of Joab and Abner:—The visit of Abner with his twenty men to David;—The subsequent interview of Joab with David;—The smiting of Abner by Joab.

The arch of the gate of the city is pointed, with a trefoil head, and has folding doors thrown open: the turrets have quatrefoil and lancet lights, and the battlements are pierced with lancet openings or loopholes; the alura to the turrets appears behind the battlements, and the roof is figured with an indented pattern red and gold.

David is in a flowing robe with a crown on his head. Abner is clad in edged ring mail, with a coif fastened by a gold strap at the side of the neck, and chausses of mail; his hands enveloped in the hauberk, which is not divided into fingers; on his coif he bears a crown of gold, and over his hauberk a surcoat with sleeves, vert, semé of lions rampant or, possibly in allusion to the name of Longespee; a long sword belted at his side,

¹ & Theſ. 3. Caſtariis ſuis ſalm. Libate de thſo nro Maſtro Walſo de Dunelmo Pictori nro quinquaginta ſolidi de ſimino paſchi pſto de annuo feodo ſuo centi ſolidi quod ei mus pſcipiend ad ſcom nro quousq; ſibi uberius pviderim² in wardis et eſcactis nris. T. R. apud Weſtm. xxvj die April.—*Rot. Liberat.* 56 Hen. III. m. 8.

² Et maſtro Walſi Pictori & p dampnis et g^{ra}vaminib; q; ſuſtinuit in ſervicio & tēpe t^{ra}baſ hite in regno xl. s. p bſe &.—*Rot. Conc.* 52 Hen. III.

In 1270 the Barons of the Exchequer were ordered to pay "Maſtro Walſo Pictori nro" ſixty ſhillings.—*Rot. Liberat.* 54 Hen. III. m. 7. 10 die Aprilis.

³ Lib. factæ per executores Domine Alianore Conſortis Edwardi Regis Anglie primi, pp. 98, 102, 111.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ P. 11, antea.

⁶ P. 12, antea.

⁷ II Samuel, cap. iii. 20. 24. 27. (Lib. II. Reg. cap. iii. Vulgate.)

and golden pryck spurs at his heels. The nearest knight in front, clad in mail like the chief, wears a surcoat without sleeves, azure, semé of lion's heads or, and has a golden strap round his coif of mail, and bears a banner in his hand; another knight behind, has a red surcoat, with sleeves. Some of the men carry banners, one a pennon, some the short spear, and others the bill and axe, and most wear, over their mail hoods, a *chapelle de fer*.

Mr. Stothard observes, that this was the only painting of which there were any remains on the lowest band on the South side of the chamber.

Second band.

Plate XXX. 2. The Martyrdom¹ of the Mother and her seven Sons, and the sacrifice of Antiochus.

Antiochus is seen in the principal compartment of the picture, seated haughtily upon his throne, the fool or royal dwarf at his feet, with the *bauble*² in his hand: over the head of the king is written "*antiochus*." On one side, they are putting in execution the cruel orders of the king; some, at a distance, are busy heating the brazen cauldrons for the victims of his rage; and, nearer the throne, they are cutting out the tongue of one of the seven sons. On the left of the king, stands the mother encouraging the last of her sons; over her head is written "*la mere. & vit filz*." In the left compartment of the picture, Antiochus, attended by a priest, appears on his knees, sacrificing to the idol of desolation, Jupiter Olympus³. In the other compartment, which is almost defaced, is a figure kneeling, simply clad, perhaps intended for Eleazar⁴ in his last prayer.

The king upon his throne is habited in a close olive gold tissue vest and a dark green surcoat without sleeves, and from his right shoulder hangs a loose crimson mantle edged with gold, folded over his knees; chausses of rich fretty work, red shoes, and long embroidered gloves, with a gold band round his neck, which fastens the mantle. The dress of the king is varied where he is represented kneeling before the golden idol; he is there seen in a green flowing robe over an olive gold dalmatic.

The disposition of the king's red flowing hair and beard, with the jewelled crown on his head, remind us instantly of the effigy of Henry III. upon his tomb in Westminster Abbey. (Vide illustrations annexed, Plate XXIX. fig. 2, from Stothard's *Monumental Effigies*, p. 30.—Vide also the Coronation of Henry III. MS. Cotton, Vitellius A. XIII, engraved in Strutt's *Royal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities*.) The figure likewise bears a strong resemblance to the portrait of the king painted upon the sedilia, or canopied stalls for the clergy, at the high altar in Westminster Abbey, and which have erroneously been considered a portion of Sebert's tomb⁵.

The mother of the children wears a violet mantle over a green tunic with long tight sleeves, and has on her head a light white coverchief, and a scarlet crespine attached by a band under the chin: the fashion of the headdress being of the kind peculiar to the reigns of Henry III. and Edward I.; it occurs again in plate XXX. 4. Aveline Countess of Lancaster, who died⁶ in 1273, appears in the effigy on her tomb⁷, in Westminster Abbey, with this headdress, without the band. In a *Pictorial History of the Bible*, with

¹ II Maccabees, cap. vii.

² "The Kynges foole

Sate by the fire upon a stoole

As he that with his *babie* plaide.—Gower, Conf. Am. b. 7.

³ I Maccabees, cap. i. v. 54 (Vulg. v. 57.) II Macc. cap. vi. v. 2.

⁴ II Macc. cap. vi. v. 30.

⁵ *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. II. plates 4, 5. The effigy is more correctly delineated in Moule's *Antiquities of Westminster Abbey*, London, 1825.

⁶ According to Matthew of Paris, Aveline, daughter of William de Albemarle, Earl of Holderness, was married to Edmund Earl of Lancaster on the 8th April 1270; her death occurred on the vigil of St. Martin, 1 Edward I. (1273.) Rot. Fin. 2 Edw. I. m. 2.

⁷ Stothard's *Monumental Effigies*, 37.

apocrypha, of the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century, known under the name of *Queen Mary's Psalter*, Royal MSS. Mus. Brit. II. B. 7, Debora and other females wear a headdress, without the veil, very near resembling that worn by the mother of the children.—Vide the story of Jael and Sisera, Plate of Illustrations XXIX. fig. 4.

The child in the hands of the executioner wears a close green vest, with sleeves, shewing at the wrist an under-vest of light purple, which is made to fit close to the neck, with an opening on the left side, where it is fastened by a gold button; and also has purple stockings. The other child has on a dark purple dress, without sleeves, over a light olive vest. The executioner, who is in violet, with yellow hose, wears a close white coif, which is also seen in Plate XXXIV. 10.; the dwarf at the foot of the king is in blue, with a white coif. The Roll of St. Guthlac, a MS. of the thirteenth century, in the Harleian Collection, Y. 6. (Vide Plate of Illustrations XXIX. fig. 1.) and the Psalter of Eadwin,¹ afford examples of the coif or close demi scull-cap, tied under the chin, such as is worn by the executioner and by the dwarf.

The high priest officiating at the sacrifice is in a blue flowing robe, having on a green pointed cap, the brim turned up and faced with white. In the apocryphal story of Thare making idols, from the Pictorial Bible before cited, Abraham, addressing his father, is represented in such a cap.—Vide Plate XXIX. fig. 5.

Plate XXXI. 3. This picture, which is very imperfect, represents, on one side, a host of warriors issuing from the gate of a city. In the centre, is a king upon his throne, and there are traces of one or two persons standing near him. On the other side, is a king on an expedition falling from his chariot, while the charioteer is rending his hair.

Perhaps this is a continuation of the story of Antiochus.² The king returns with dishonour from Persepolis; at Ecbatane he received the news of what had happened to Nicanor and Timotheus, and, swelling with anger, he commanded his chariot to be driven without stopping in his journey until he came to Jerusalem, where he thought to avenge upon the Jews the disgrace done unto him by those that had made him flee: but it came to pass that he fell down from his chariot, carried violently; so that, having a sore fall, all the members of his body were much pained.

The armour of the knights, so conspicuous in this subject, is similar to that described in the first painting, but presents greater variety. The gilt cerveliere, with and without the nasal, often occurs over the mail hood; the cylindrical helmet is also seen. Antiochus has a sword with a curved blade, like a sabre, which occurs again, Plate XXXV. 12; the falchion, and long sword and bill, are also used, besides the round buckler and pointed shield. The form of the shield appendant to the chariot is often found on Spanish seals. One of the horses is caparisoned in mail housings, a circumstance of interest, of which another example occurs in Plate XXXVII. 16. Banners are displayed with the pennoncel, and some of the banners bear cognizances which possibly may be allusive. Similar banners will be found in a miniature of the battle of Hastings, MS.³ Vitellius, A. XIII. in the Cotton Library, of the thirteenth century. We may observe that the nasal to the helmet, seen in this and other paintings of our series, was disused about the reign of King Edward I.; it occurs, as well as the banners, in the early miniatures of Matthew Paris's life⁴ of the two Offas, a MS. in the Cotton Collection, Nero, D. 1., said to be the gift to

¹ MS. Trinity College, Cambridge. Vide Strutt's *Manners and Customs*, plate II. fig. 1.

² II. Maccabees, c. ix. v. 1. 2. 3. 4. 7.

³ Engraved in Strutt's *Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities*, plate iii.

⁴ *Historia de Offa primo et secundo: cum figuris in summa pagina per Mathæum Parisiensem, qui hunc librum e cenobio S. Albani dono contulisse fertur in rubricis.*—Catalog. Cotton. MS. p. 236.

the monks of St. Alban's by the author, who died in 1259 — Vide the Triumph of Offa over Riganus, Plate of illustrations XXVIII. fig. 1. In the miniature from the same MS. vide fig. 2., representing Offa routing the Scots, the nasal is omitted, and the greave appears on the leg of one of the warriors; and that miniature would seem to be executed by a different hand at a somewhat later time.

Third Band.

Plate XXXI. 4. The story of Abimelech.

Abimelech is introduced in the act of slaying his brothers on the stone. Jotham, the youngest brother, whose name is written over his head, ~~Jotham~~, is next seen, naked, the outcast of his family, relating the parable of the trees choosing a king, and calling down fire to consume the inhabitants of Shechem and the house of Millo; which judgment may have formed the subject, now imperfect, that followed. The siege of Thebez terminates the picture; ~~Abimelech~~ is in the act of setting fire to the city gates, having fire in a cresset in his left hand, while the woman, above, is casting the mill-stone on his head: Abimelech covers his face, and dies by the hand of his armour-bearer.

The red surcoat of Abimelech has sleeves, and is powdered with white goats' heads, the emblem of sacrifice, perhaps in allusion to Gideon's ephod, that became a ruin to all his house. Over his mail hood he wears a gilt nasal cerveliere, and his falchion is falling from his right hand. The head-dress of the woman throwing down the mill-stone is similar, but without the coverchief, to that of the mother of the Maccabees in Plate XXX. 2. The mill-stone is marked with the *fer de moulin*, or mill-ink.

In Plate XXIX. fig. 3, of our illustrations, we have given a miniature of the story of Abimelech from the Pictorial History of the Bible before mentioned, with the French inscription beneath it.

Plate XXXII. fig. 5. The story of Hezekiah.

Hezekiah breaks the images. The Assyrians, under the appellation of *arabians*, come to Jerusalem, and Rab-shakeh parleys with Eliakim. Hezekiah appears tearing his garments; he sends to intreat Isaiah the prophet to pray for the Israelites. Over the head of the prophet is written *psal*, and over the heads of the messengers are the traces of *eliachim*.

The prophet Isaiah, and the chiefs of the Israelites, wear bonnets red and blue, curving to a point at the top. In Matthew Paris's MS. life of the two Offas before cited, the nobles of England appear in caps or bonnets similar to those of the Court of the King of Israel, as may be seen in our illustrations from that MS. Plate XXVIII. figs. 4. and 5. Vide also Plate XXIX. fig. 5, from the Pictorial History of the Bible before cited. The spiked herse is seen drawn up at the gate of the city; and the gate-tower is pierced with two arbalasteria. The roof of the building, where Isaiah is seen, is covered with shingles, and has along the ridge a crest of foliated ornaments, such as are still found on the roof of the cathedral at Exeter: another example of this crest occurs on the temple of Jerusalem, Plate XXXIII. 7; we have also trefoil and cinquefoil-headed arches, under triangular pediments, with crockets and finials, of which so many examples occur in our architecture of the thirteenth century, as we have elsewhere noticed, and which are repeated in several of these paintings. The long loop-holes represented in the turrets were much in use in the middle of the thirteenth century; one instance may be sufficient, Tonbridge Castle, Kent. The licence to embattle Tonbridge Castle was granted to Richard de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, in the 44th Hen. III. an. 1249³.

¹ Book of Judges, cap. ix.

² Hasted's Hist. of Kent.

³ II. Kings, alias IV. Kings, cap. xviii. and xix.

Plate XXXII. 6. The story of Hezekiah continued¹.

Hezekiah at prayer. The Lord speaks to Isaiah. The angel of the Lord destroys the Assyrians sleeping in their tents. Adrammelech and Sharezer, the sons of Sennacherib, slay their father. Over the head of the one, is inscribed *adremelec*, and of the other, *serasail*.

The head of the Lord is encircled by a nimbus, with a red cross within it; the angel has a green nimbus and brown wings. The tents, which are thrown open, showing the sleeping Assyrians, are of various colours. Adrammelech wears a blue surcoat with loose sleeves, and a gold nasal cerveliere, and carries a round buckler; other examples of the buckler may be seen in Plates XXXV. and XXXVI. 12, 14. The effigy in Great Malvern church, which Mr. Kempe remarks as contemporary with Longespee, Earl of Salisbury, has in his left hand a similar buckler². Sharezer wears a red surcoat over his mail, and has a steel *chappelle de fer* over his mail hood. One of the figures sleeping in the tents has a gold *chapel de fer* unlike others that generally occur, and which it will be interesting to compare with the head-piece worn by the warrior holding the falchion in Plate XXXVI. 14.

Plate XXXIII. 7. The captivity of Jehoiachin King of Israel³.

The Jews are seen driven by force from their homes, while the camels are preparing to depart for Babylon laden with spoil. Soldiers bear off golden vessels. Jehoiachin and his mother on their knees supplicate Nebuchadnezzar, the King of Babylon, who is seen carrying the sorrowful King of Israel and his mother away with him into captivity.

Over the head of the kneeling figure of the King of Israel is written *ioakim*. Nebuchadnezzar wears a red surcoat over his mail, and a conical head-piece covered with red, encircled by the crown; in one place he is represented carrying a pennoncel, and in another bears a falchion in his hand. One of the soldiers, carrying the sacred vessels, wears the cerveliere covered with red. A leader, apparently the Serjeant at Arms, has a mace in his hand, and under the short sleeve of his hauberk, which does not quite extend to the wrist, is seen a portion of a red garment, perhaps the gambaison; it will be seen again in Plates XXXVIII. and XXXIX. 18, 21. In Mons. Lasteyrie's work on Painted Glass, plate xxx. may be seen a mace of very similar form, from a window at Troyes, of the thirteenth century.

Plate XXXIII. 8. The Captivity of the Jews continued⁴.

The temple of Jerusalem, which is about to be destroyed by the orders of Nebuchadnezzar, forms a prominent feature in this picture, *le temple de iertlm*. Nebuzaradan, the commander of the army of the King of Babylon, carries away the people that remained in the city, *le ge's de iertlm*, who have their hands bound, and are driven along by the scourge. The soldiers are seen bearing off the golden candlesticks, bags of money, and chests of treasure.

The head-covering of the commander has the appearance of a cap of estate. An imperfect figure wears a green surcoat powdered with gold escutcheons. The candlesticks are furnished with prickets.

Fourth band.

Plate XXXIV. 9. The story of Elijah and Ahaziah⁵.

Elijah causes fire to come down from Heaven, to consume the captain and fifty men sent by King Ahaziah to fetch the Prophet. The Captain of the third band sent entreats Elijah

¹ II. Kings, alias IV. Kings, cap. xix.

² Stothard's Mon. Effigies, 23.

³ II. Kings, alias IV. Kings, cap. xxiv.

⁴ II. Kings, alias IV. Kings, cap. xxv.

⁵ II. Kings, alias IV. Kings, cap. i.

to spare the lives of himself and his men. The Angel of the Lord commands Elijah to go with the Captain to the King. The Prophet announces to the King, that he shall not come down from his death bed. Elijah is seen striking¹ the waters of the Jordan with his mantle, while Elisha prays by his side.

Plate XXXIV. 10. The miracles of Elisha.

Elisha makes sweet the pottage²; the Prophet, majestically seated, is seen ordering the meal to be cast into the pot; above, is represented the multiplication³ of the loaves, which the servant is distributing to the people. The story of Naaman⁴ follows: Naaman appears naked, suffering from the leprosy; above, richly clad, and carrying with him the pieces of gold, he delivers a letter from his master, the King of Syria, to the King of Israel, who rends his garments on the receipt of the letter. Naaman comes to the house of Elisha, and solicits to be cured. Gehazi, the servant of Elisha, demands at the chariot of Naaman the talent of silver and changes of raiment; above, the Prophet inflicts upon Gehazi the punishment of his crime.

The charioteer wears a hood similar to hoods occurring in the Louterel Psalter⁵, and carries a scourge in his hand, of which we have another example in our preceding Plate, XXX. 8. The seal pendant from the King of Syria's letter must not be overlooked.

Plate XXXV. 11. In this picture, of which we have only the lower subjects, the upper being defaced, armed men are seen on one side advancing. A feast of soldiers follows. In the next compartment is the mutilated body of a youth lying upon a table; one of the arms, and also one of the legs are wanting, and the head, cut off, is in the hands of a figure at the table, where there also appears to be another figure standing; while the vessels and cups upon the table would indicate eating and drinking. At the close of the picture, people seem to be, some carrying spoil, and others in distress looking with dismay at the figure of a man prostrate on the ground.

The defective state of this picture makes it difficult to know the story intended to be represented; as, however, Mr. Stothard remarks that nearly the whole of the fourth band was occupied with the acts of Elisha and Elijah, and the painting before us was on that band, and immediately followed the subject last described, which was taken from the fifth chapter of the second book of Kings, alias IV. Kings, it is not improbable that the present subjects are from the next two chapters of the same book.

The Syrian host coming against Israel, at the prayers of Elisha are blinded, and led by him into Samaria; and the King of Israel was commanded by the prophet not to kill them, but to set bread and water before them, that they might eat and drink and go to their master; and he prepared great provision for them. This may apply to the first two actions described. The third subject would seem to refer to the famine in Samaria, where the woman boiled her son and ate him; and the concluding subject may represent the scene at the gates of Samaria, after the flight and despoiling of the Syrians, when the attendant upon the King of Israel, who had disbelieved Elisha prophesying success, was trodden under foot.

At the feast of the soldiers, one of them has taken off the cerveliere, and is seen in his under-coif, and some of them have the mail-glove of the hauberk loosened, and pendant at the wrist.

Fifth band.

Plate XXXV. 12. The acts of Judas Maccabeus.

This painting, which is imperfect, represents different actions of a warrior, who is

¹ II. Kings, alias IV. Kings, cap. ii.

⁴ II. Kings, alias IV. Kings, cap. v.

² II. Kings, alias IV. Kings, cap. iv.

⁵ Vetusta Mon. vol. VI.

³ Ibid.

conspicuous, throughout, for the head-piece which he wears, and for the splendour of his accoutrements; and, in one instance, over the head of the combatant is written *Judas*, shewing that the subjects depicted all refer to the exploits of Judas Maccabeus.

The pointed head-piece of Judas is red and gold; his surcoat and shield, and the housings of his horse, are also red, emblazoned with a fess between six martlets or. In one of the battle scenes, Judas is engaged with a knight on horseback, clad in a green surcoat, who wears the ailette, which is green charged with a martlet or, being the only example¹ that occurs of the ailette in the series of the paintings. But it must be observed, that in the figure there occurs a considerable ambiguity and apparent confusion, especially as regards the surcoat and hauberk, possibly occasioned by repaintings or subsequent alterations. Another novel feature of costume is the long surcoat, the skirt of which is deeply indented so as to form a series of long lambels. The round buckler likewise occurs. In another battle scene, Judas appears again in conflict with a chief who bears on his shield a bear or. The head-piece worn by Judas bears some resemblance to the early form of the Papal Regnum.—Vide the miniature of the Pope giving audience to Offa II. Plate XXVIII. fig. 5, and the effigy of St. Peter on the common seal of Hyde Abbey attached to the surrender of that monastery in the Augmentation Office.—Vide also the mitre of the Archbishop of York in painted glass in the east window of the Minster.

Plate XXXVI. 13. The subject of this painting is probably from the first book of Maccabees, chapter ii.

Mathathias and his sons are seen in the mountain of Modin; he slays the Jew coming to sacrifice, in obedience to the commands of Antiochus. Mathathias in his wrath is about to slay the man whom King Antiochus had sent to compel them to sacrifice, and who supplicates for his life.

North side of the Chamber. Fifth band.

Plate XXXVI. 14. The battle of Judas Maccabeus with Timotheus, and the fall of Maspha².

This painting opens with companies sounding their trumpets for battle, while a priest, whose figure is imperfect, apparently prays for success. A spirited conflict follows, in which a warrior, who by his head-piece and accoutrements, as well as the inscription above his head, is known to be Judas, triumphs over a host of enemies. The picture ends with the assault of a city, where, in the midst of a general slaughter, Judas is himself in the act of cutting off the head of a man.

"When Judas therefore saw that the battle was begun, and that the cry of the city went up to heaven, with trumpets, and a great sound, he said unto his host, Fight this day for your brethren. So he went forth behind them in three companies, who sounded their trumpets, and cried with prayer. Then the host of Timotheus, knowing that it was Maccabeus, fled from him: wherefore he smote them with great slaughter, so that there were killed of them that day about eight thousand men. This done, Judas turned aside to Maspha; and after he had assaulted it, he took it, and slew all the males therein, and received the spoils thereof, and burnt it with fire."

Behind one of the principal figures in the mêlée, who is wielding a falchion, and on whose head is a remarkable variety of the chapel de fer, is seen an archer, being the only one that occurs in the series of paintings.

¹ Mr. Crocker's drawing of this subject, in Mr. Douce's Collection in the Bodleian Library, contains some variations material to be noticed: the ailette is altogether omitted in his copy; over the heads of each of the mitred figures, bearing the martlets upon the horse trappings, occurs the name *Judas*, which is only found once in Mr. Stothard's drawing; and the warrior on the citadel, in the centre of the painting, has a purple cap and purple surcoat, which are without colour in Mr. Stothard's painting.

² I. Maccabees, chap. v. 31, 36.

It appeared from the French inscriptions, that the whole of the fifth band, on the north side, was occupied with the exploits of Judas Maccabeus, and that the upper, or sixth band, on the same side, related to the acts of Antiochus. A fragment of an inscription in the upper band may here be introduced, *li Reis Antiochus entra en Egipte a grant Ost, de cheba char, &c*

Plate XXXVII. 15. The Coronation of Edward the Confessor.

The inscription on this painting explains the subject represented :

CCST : IC : CORONEDENT : SEINT : EDVVARD :

The Confessor is seated on his throne, holding the sceptre and dove, with the crown on his head, which is supported on each side by an Archbishop, attended by the Bishops in their pontificals. The King wears a purple mantle over a green tunic; his hair is rounded in flowing curls, like the head in the painting supposed¹ to be of King Henry III. before noticed; and the royal crown is richly foliated.

The Archbishop, on the left of the King, has a green tunic, light purple dalmatic, blue chasuble lined with red, and edged with a rich orfray, a maniple worked in green and gold, and the pallium hanging from his shoulders; and he holds in his left hand a golden chrismatory. Immediately behind the Archbishop is his crosier, bare-headed, and tonsured, in a close green vest, edged at the neck and wrists with gold, holding the Archbishop's cross. The Archbishop on the right of the King, distinguished by the pallium, appears to support the sceptre with his right hand; he is habited in a red chasuble with green lining, and at the throat is seen the gold parure of the amice; on his head is the mitre, with long pendant infulæ, which occur only in the instances of the Archbishops. All the Bishops are clothed in rich copes of different colours, with the mitra aurifrigiata on their heads, and rich crosiers in their hands. The gold embroidered stole, worn by the Bishop on the left of the King, which is in the best preservation, is particularly interesting, as being ornamented with the gammadion.

The form of the mitre is peculiar, it being very much tapered in proportion to the height. Hugh de Northwold, Bishop of Ely, who died in 1254, is seen with a similar mitre, in the sepulchral figure upon his tomb, engraved in Stothard's *Monumental Effigies*; and the crosiers, with their elegant foliated heads, have a striking resemblance to the crosier borne by the same Bishop, as also to the pastoral staff of Henry of Worcester, Abbot of Evesham, who died in 1263, discovered in his coffin, and represented in the twentieth volume of the *Archæologia*.

The gold morse by which the copes are fastened, and the jewelled gloves worn by all, are evidences that none of the ecclesiastics were inferior in dignity to mitred Abbots; and the stoles, which are seen crossed at their breasts over the alb that forms the undergarment, are circumstances not to be overlooked.

A canopy of trefoil-headed arches, highly coloured, with light scrolls of foliage about them, extends over the whole of this subject; similar canopies occur over subjects in Matthew Paris's *Lives of the Offas*, and in the *Pictorial History of the Bible* before referred to by us, as will appear in our illustrations.

This painting, which was on the north side of the chamber, and nearly in a line with the eye, had, according to Mr. Stothard, suffered much from time and exposure, and the defects in the group of Bishops on the right of the King are much to be regretted, as the painting was of sufficient importance occasionally to give to the apartment the name of St. Edward's Chamber.

¹ *Vetusta Mon.* vol. II. plate XXXIII.

East end.

Plate XXXVII. 16. A fragment of a subject; warriors on horseback are apparently flying for refuge into a city. In this picture, which was on the fourth band between the windows at the east end, perhaps a little difference is perceptible in the drawing and colouring, compared with the other paintings.

Paintings in the reveals of the windows on the South side.

Plate XXXVIII. 17, 18. These paintings, which fronted each other in the reveals of a window on the south side of the chamber westward, are allegorical representations of Virtues, in the character of armed females, overcoming their opposite Vices.

LARGESCE, or Bounty, whose triumph is the subject of Painting 17, is seen trampling upon and bearing down with her spear, COVOITISE, or Avarice, and with her left hand pouring gold down his throat from a long purse, all the strings of which are loose. Avarice, loaded with bags and pouches of money, appears gluttoned with gold.

Largesce is clothed in a close purple tunic, over which is a shirt of mail descending to the knee, and reaching half-way down the fore-arm; and from her right shoulder falls a loose crimson mantle, folded round her, richly embroidered, faced with vair; on her left arm hangs a large pointed shield, the inside face of which, exposed to view and painted green, shews the embroidered guige by which it was suspended from the right shoulder, and the red leather enarme through which the left arm passed. A coverchief falls down at the back of her head, on which is placed a magnificent gold crown.

Avarice is habited in a green robe, with a gold brooch at the neck.

In the border of this subject are painted alternately the lions of England, and Or, an eagle displayed sable, the arms of Frederick II. Emperor of Germany; and the lion and eagle in alternate roundels, form the lower border of the mantle; the gold of the border and the trefoil-headed arch above, as well as of the crown on the figure of Largesce, are embossed in raised gold patterns. The arms of the Emperor of Germany, whose wife was Isabel sister of King Henry III. of England, are sculptured, in colours, in the North aisle of the nave of Westminster Abbey, the Imperial eagle, in both examples, appearing with a single head.

Round the architrave moulding of the doorway of the Chapter House at Salisbury are sculptured Virtues and Vices; and the triumph of Bounty over Avarice, is similar in design to our present subject.

DEBONERÉTÉ or Meekness, whose triumph is the subject of Painting 18, treads under foot IRA, Anger, who is tearing his hair. Debonereté holds in one hand a rod, and with the other the guige of her shield, which is emblazoned with the Lions of England. The guige is ornamented with lozenges alternately red and blue, each being charged with the ornament known in the Greek Church as the Gammadion, and in England by the heraldic name of the Fylfot.

¹ These Arms, the first in the series of escutcheons sculptured in the North aisle of Westminster Abbey, are properly ascribed by Camden to Frederick the Second, Emperor of Germany; and the Arms of France, which follow in the next shield, are those of Louis King of France. (*Reges, Reginæ, Nobiles, &c. in Eccl. Colleg. B. Petri Westmonasterii sepulchri. Londini 1603.*) Sandford, pp. 87. b. 95. gives the shield of Germany above referred to, first to the Emperor Frederick II. and afterward, in error, to Richard Earl of Cornwall, King of the Romans, whose arms, also noticed by Camden, Argent, a lion rampant gules, crowned or, within a bordure sable besanté, are sculptured on the South side of the nave of Westminster Abbey. Richard Earl of Cornwall was a benefactor to the monastery of Oseney, and two shields are sculptured on the Gate House; one, bearing the Arms of Germany, the eagle with a double head, and the other, the arms of the Earl of Cornwall described; but this Gate House was a building of the fourteenth or fifteenth century. Vide *Textus Roffensis*, Hearne's *Antiquities of Oxford*, p. 329. Edmund Earl of Cornwall bears on his seal the arms of his father Richard on an escutcheon pendant from the neck of an eagle.

On the gold coin of Frederick II. as Emperor, the eagle is given with a single head. Spenser says, "*certe ante Henricum III. (imperatorem) vix inveneris exemplum bicipitis, sæpe vero post hunc unum apparet caput.*" *Opus Herald.* vol. II. 45.

Debonereté is habited in a close green tunic, over which is a hauberk descending below the knee, cut short, reaching half-way down the fore-arm; and her surcoat, without sleeves, is dark purple embroidered in gold. In the embroidery of the collar appears the swan displayed. Her hair falls in loose ringlets down her neck, and the gold crown on her head is studded with jewels. The crowns worn by Largesce and Debonereté are very similar to the rich crowns which occur on the royal effigies at St. Denis, sculptured about 1267, by order of St. Louis.

Anger is in a blue vest, with a light purple mantle.

In the border of this subject are painted alternately the arms of Edward the Confessor, England, and St. Edmund King of the East Angles: the gold used in the border, trefoil-headed arch, and other parts of the picture, is raised and embossed in patterns.

Mr. Stothard observes that this painting "as it had been twice repainted, was probably originally a compliment to Prince Henry III."

On the fonts in Southrop Church, Gloucestershire, and Stanton Fitzwarren, and upon the doorway of the Chapter House at Salisbury, are sculptured representations of Patience trampling upon Anger.

Plate XXXIX. 19, 20. Ailred¹, Abbot of Rievall, in his *Life of Edward the Confessor*, relates that the holy king, being present at the dedication of a church in honour of St. John the Evangelist, to whom he had a great devotion, one in the dress of a pilgrim cried to him in the midst of the procession, begging an alms for the love of the Saint. The king put his hand in his purse, but found it empty, upon which the pilgrim redoubled his entreaties. The treasurer, who was called for, not being able to approach on account of the crowd, the king, in distress, remembering the ring on his finger, hastily took it off and gave it to the pilgrim. It happened some time afterward, that two persons going on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and being upon an occasion benighted, were accosted by a venerable old man, who inquiring into their native country, and hearing they were from England, offered them hospitality for the night. At parting the next morning, he told his guests, with his blessing, that he was St. John the Evangelist, and, expressing his affection for the king, required them on their return to deliver to Edward the ring which he had given to the Saint in the dress of a pilgrim, and at the same time to forewarn him of his approaching death.

This is the subject of the paintings 19, 20, which faced each other, occupying the reveals or sides of the easternmost window on the south side of the chamber, and it is to be lamented that the paintings had suffered mutilation from the introduction of a door substituted for the window. The figures, which were of the size of life, stood under trefoil-headed canopies richly painted, with borders embossed in raised gold patterns.

The pilgrim is habited in a purplish coloured *sclavine*², under which appears a close-fitting red sleeve, with rich gold-embroidered borders to each; and slung at his back by a white cord, is a black pilgrim's hat with a green string round it; the *sclavine* and hat are decorated with shells; on his head is a purple cap, and the hair and beard are crisped and curled; holding the pilgrim's staff, or *bourdon*, in his left hand, he extends his right, and is in the act of exclaiming *Sire du bie' me donez por l'am' deu q' bie' aimez*.

The king wears, over a green dalmatic, a red mantle, embroidered, fastened by a gold brooch at the shoulder, and holds the sceptre and dove in his hand; he has the crown upon his head, and his hair and beard are crisped and curled in a similar manner to those of the pilgrim. He is in the act of replying to the pilgrim *Pelerin . . . prenez c'est a . . .*

¹ Ailred, *Script. decem*, col. 397.

² Vide Ducange, in voce *Sclavina*.

The story of the Confessor and the Pilgrim was a favourite subject for painters and sculptors. We have seen in our preceding pages that King Henry, who was a great admirer of the saint, had this story painted in the Chapels of the Tower of London, Winchester, and Guildford. In the accounts of St. Stephen's Chapel, in the 6th King Edward III. we read among the payments, "Sept. 13. To Master Richard of Reading, for making two images by task-work in gross: viz. for an image of St. Edward, and another of St. John in the likeness of a pilgrim, to be put in front of the gable of the Chapel, iii^{li}. vi^s. viii^d." The statues of the king and the pilgrim were to be seen over the Courts of Queen's Bench and Common Pleas in Westminster Hall, and over the gate going into Dean's Yard. The story is sculptured in bas relief on the screen behind the altar in Edward the Confessor's Chapel at Westminster; it was wrought in the hangings of the choir, and was likewise in painted glass in the South aisle of the Church.² It was also to be seen in painted glass, among other places, in Romford Chapel, Essex.³

North Side.

Plate XXXIX. 21. This painting, which occupied the reveal of the window that had been filled up on the North side of the Chamber, is a fragment of a subject representing the triumph of one of the Virtues.

A female, in a hauberk, and guarded by a buckler, or round shield, that rests on her arm, is in the act of piercing an object with her spear. The under garment, probably the gambaisson, seen at the wrists, is green, and over her mail hangs a crimson mantle fastened at the breast by a gold brooch; a coverchief falls at the back of the head, which is crowned. The buckler is green, bearing, within a tressure of eight cusps, a saltire flory between four lions passant or, not very unlike devices on early English coins.

Plate XXXIX. 22. An ornamental pattern found in one of the round-headed windows which had been filled up before the scriptural subjects described were executed. Vide Mr. Stothard's Observations, p. 8, upon this decoration.

We will now take leave of the Painted Chamber, trusting that the researches gradually making among the unexplored treasures of our Public Records will, before long, throw further light on the state of the Fine Arts in this Country during the thirteenth century. In the mean time, we have to request that this imperfect sketch may be received with indulgence.

My Lord,

I have the honour to be,

Your Lordship's obedient, humble servant,

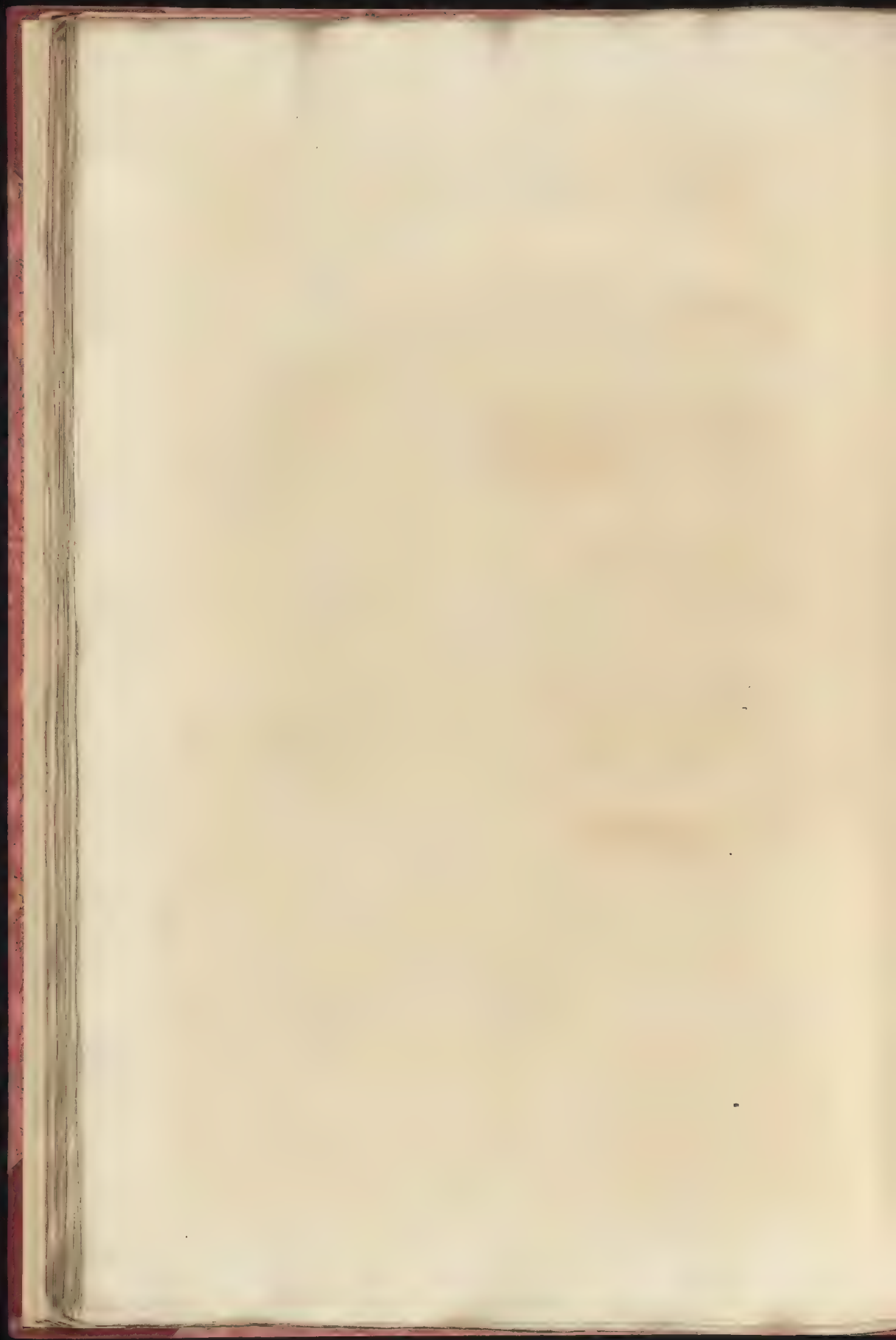
JOHN GAGE ROKEWODE.

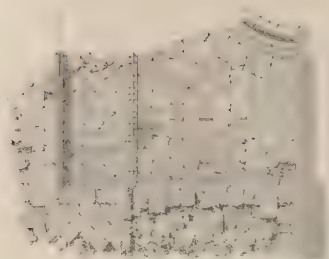
To the Earl of Aberdeen, &c. &c. &c.

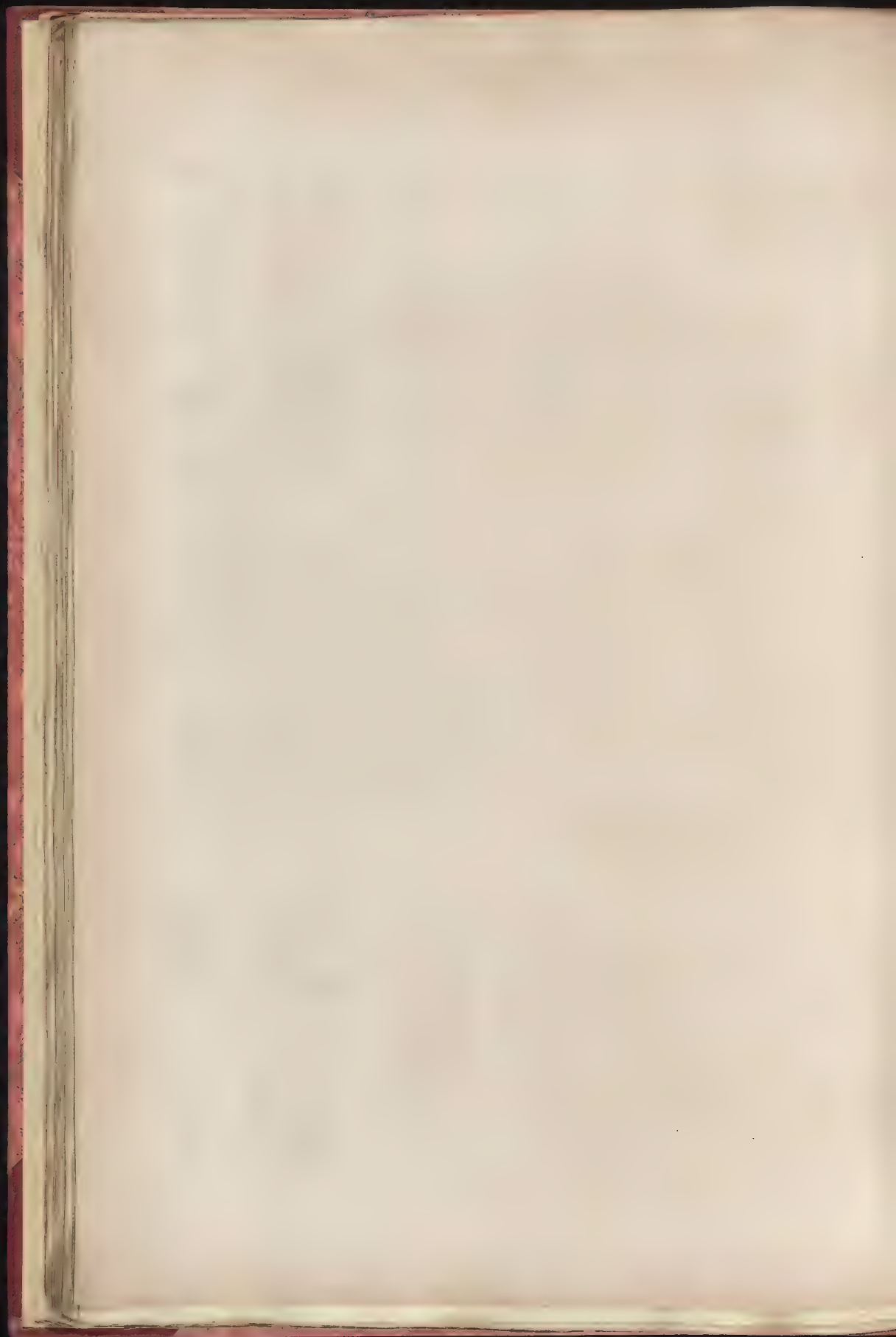
¹ King Henry, in the inscription on the shrine of St. Edward, is styled, "Sancti presentis amicus." The day of the translation of St. Edward was declared a solemn feast in England by Pope Gregory VII. in 1227. Rymer, tom. i. 102. Hagæ 1745. And Pope Innocent in 1243 decreed a general observance of his Feasts. Ibid. p. 147.

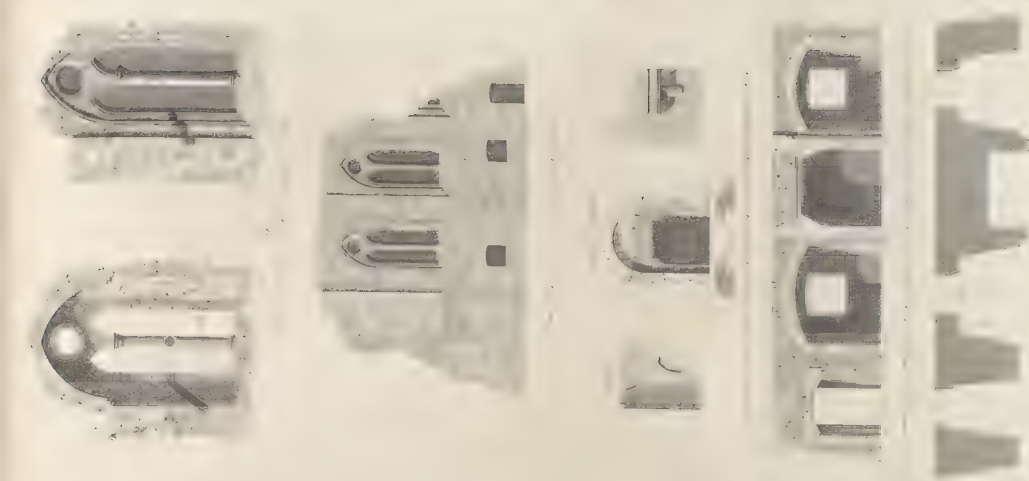
² Dart's History of Westminster Abbey, p. 51.

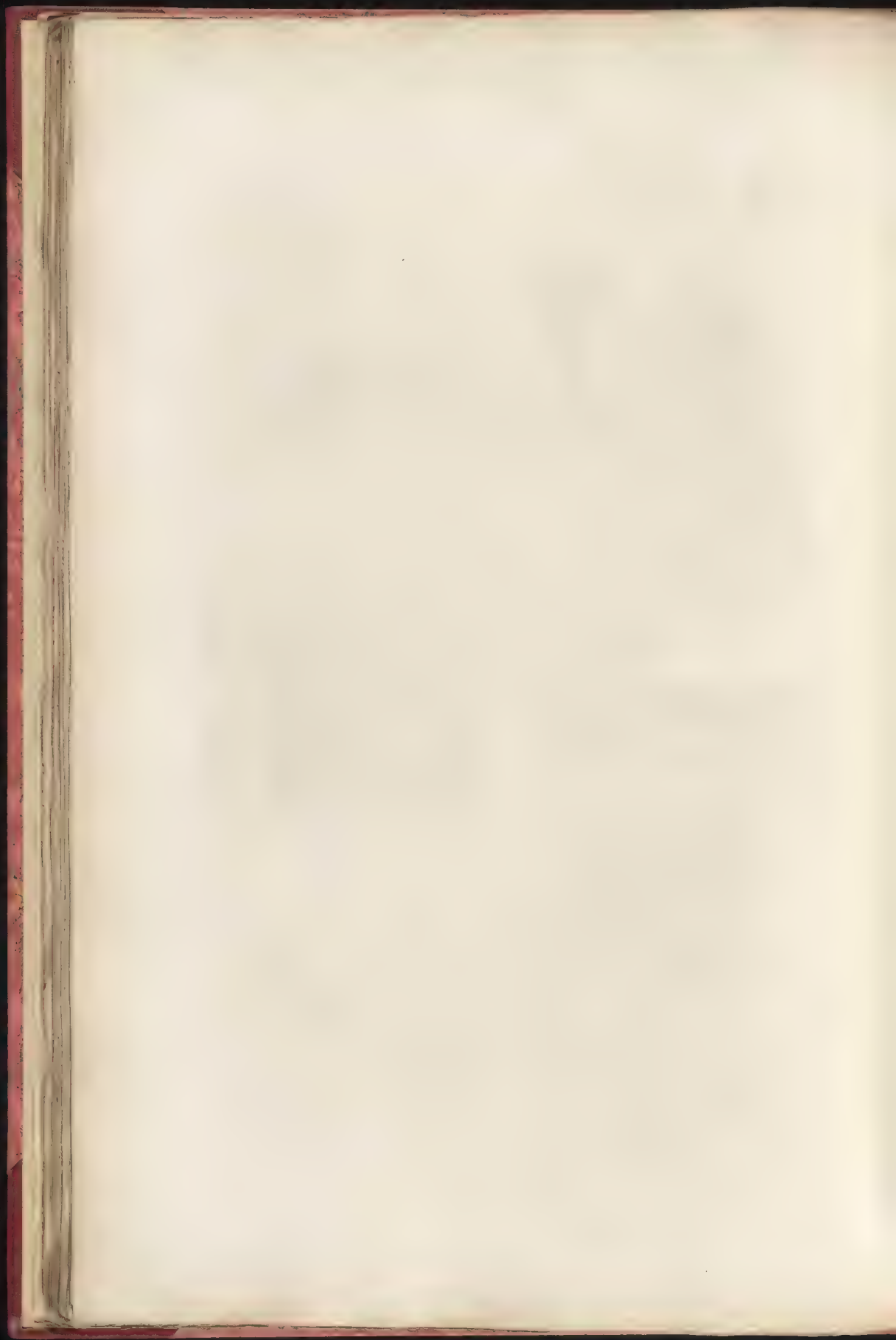
³ Morant's History of Essex, vol. i. p. 58.



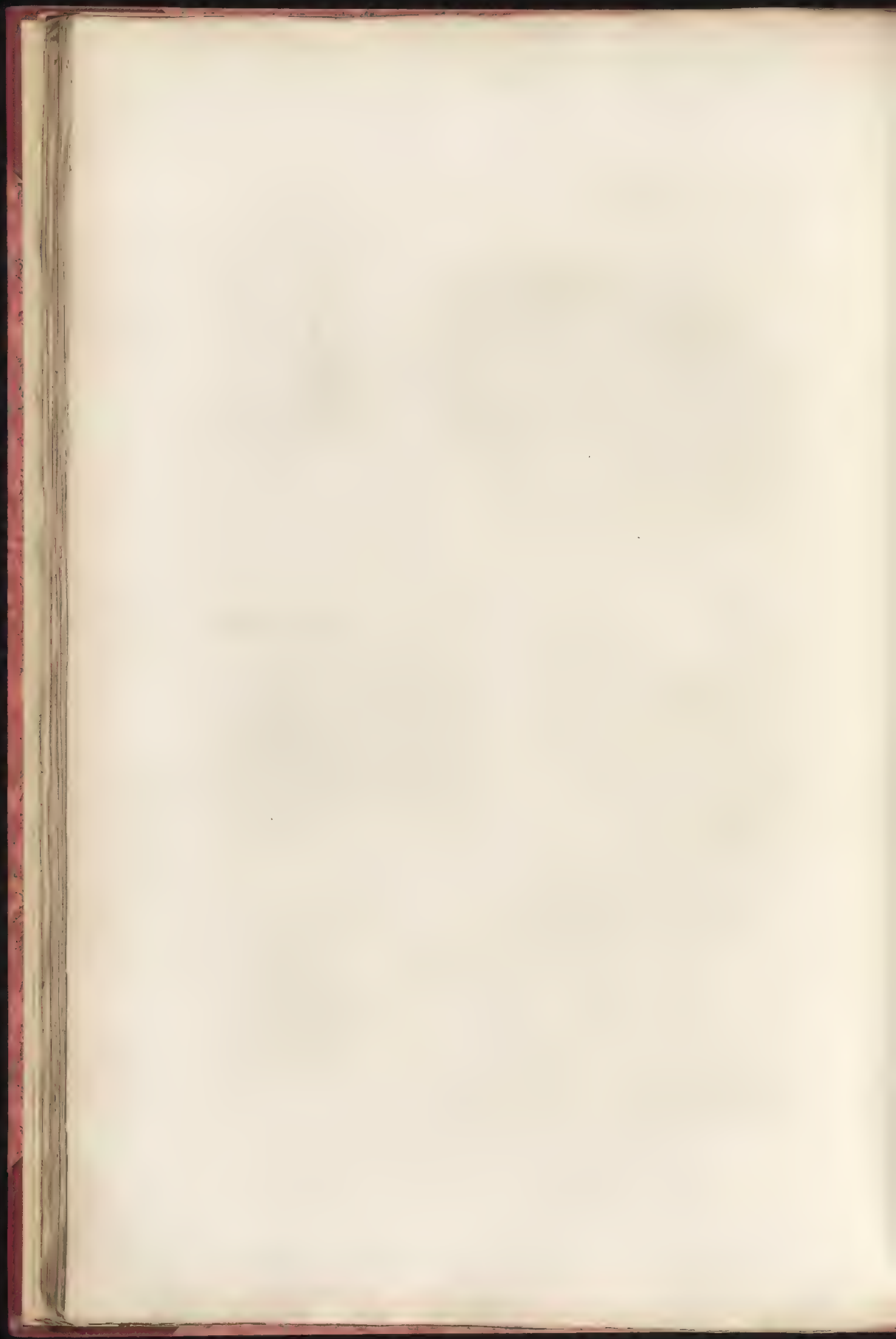














Et com Abimelech estoit entre ce tant otre chose. Et comendoye a sainte ley
 sonnes. vint une femme de haubte et li contast la telle de vne pite. Et li lynch
 son esquier. e li vint qe li couplet la redit. . . .

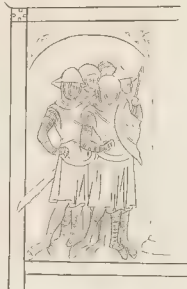


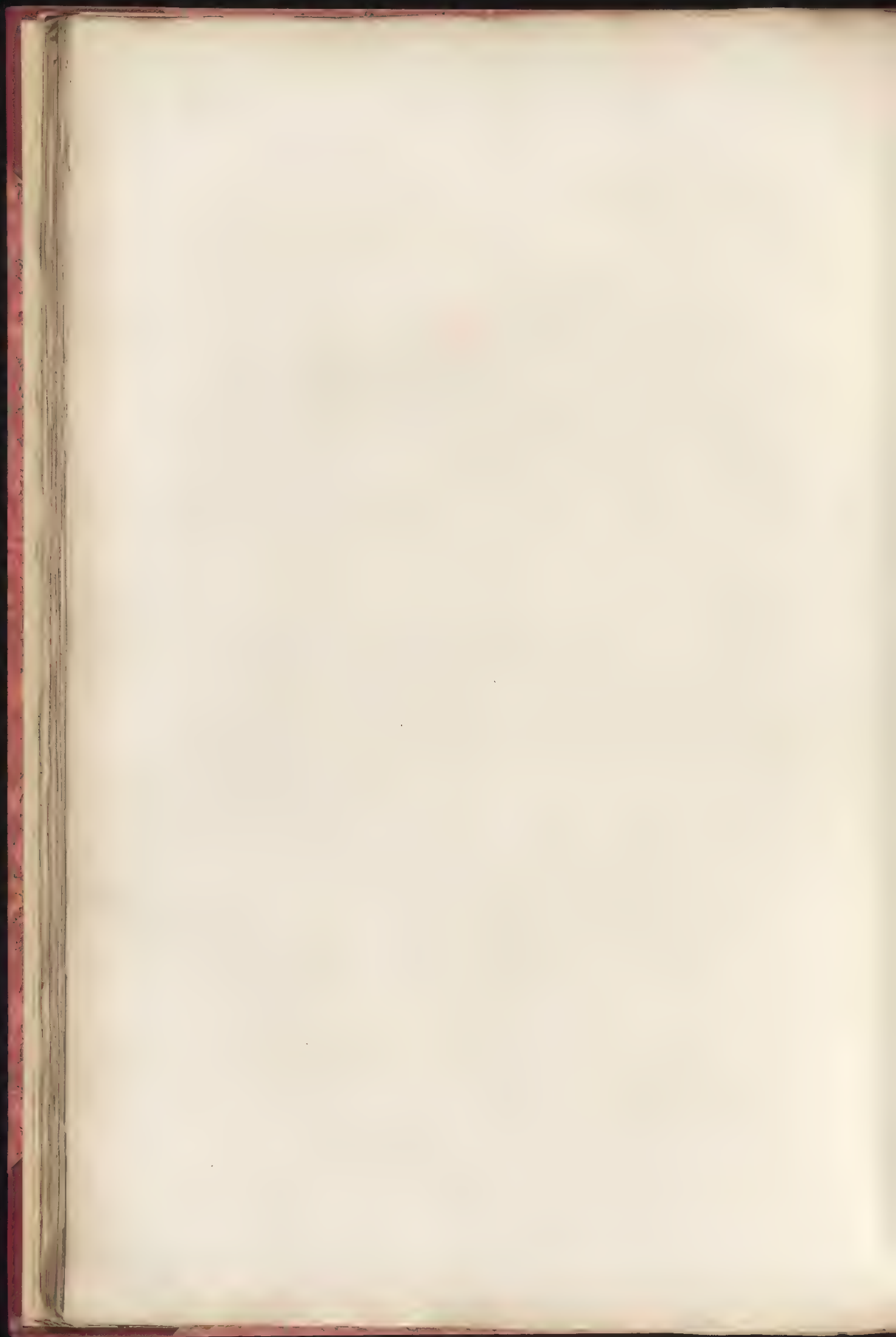
Coment le roy cyara qut il
 vint de s'entale hant. eo q' d'ame
 Dabala li donast. -

Coment dame Dabala eust le
 Roy. Et piers en demourant se grant
 vne etole p'mi ad redit. -

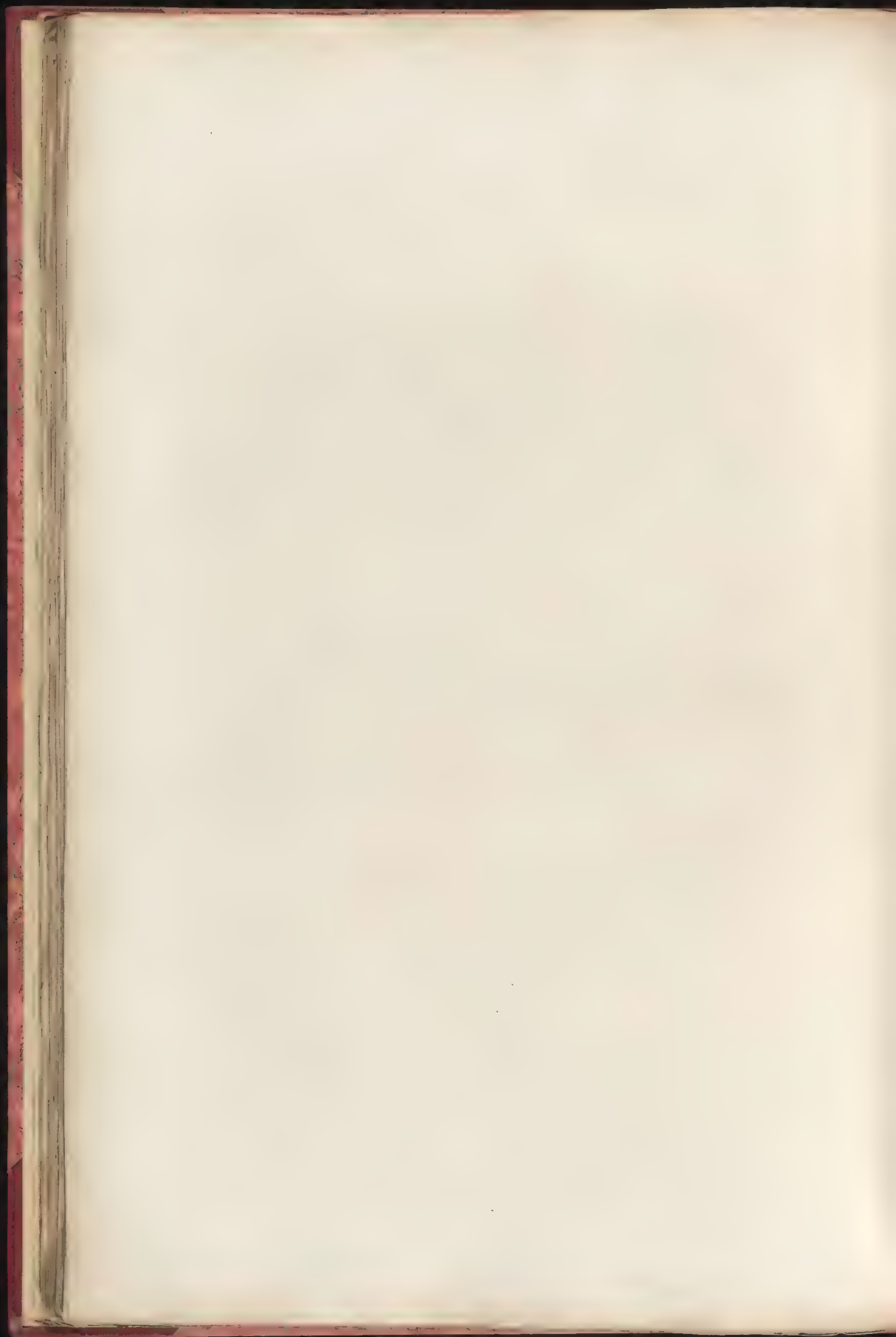


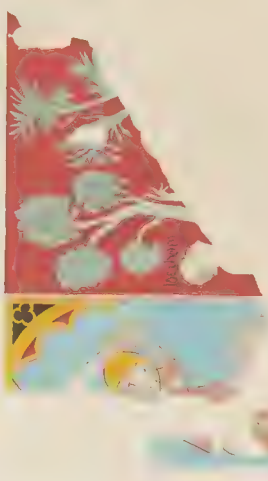
Et on gart chier ou vesce. Les deus sunt en reposte. Abiam au pre.
 pite. de sus meynes de aint uera. ~

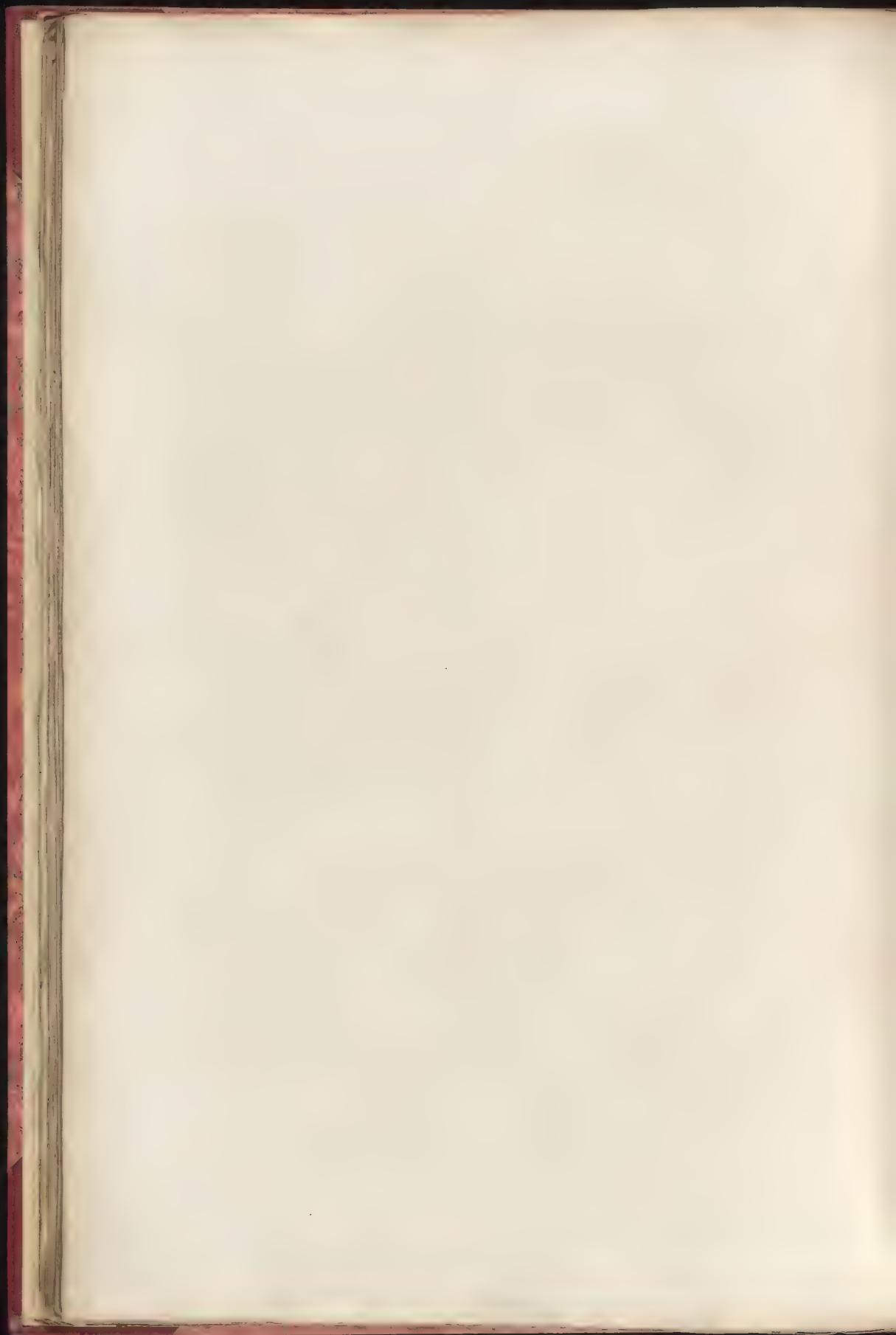


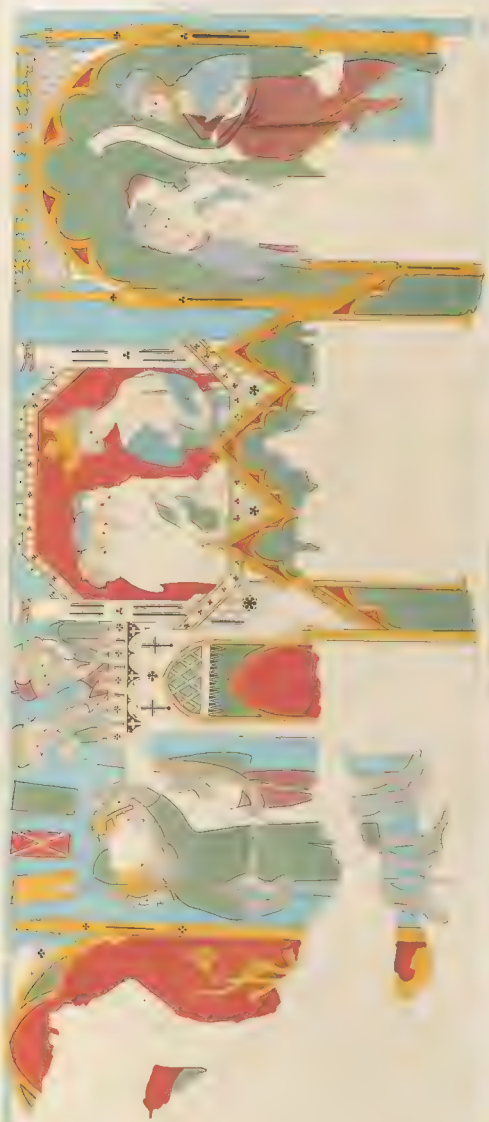




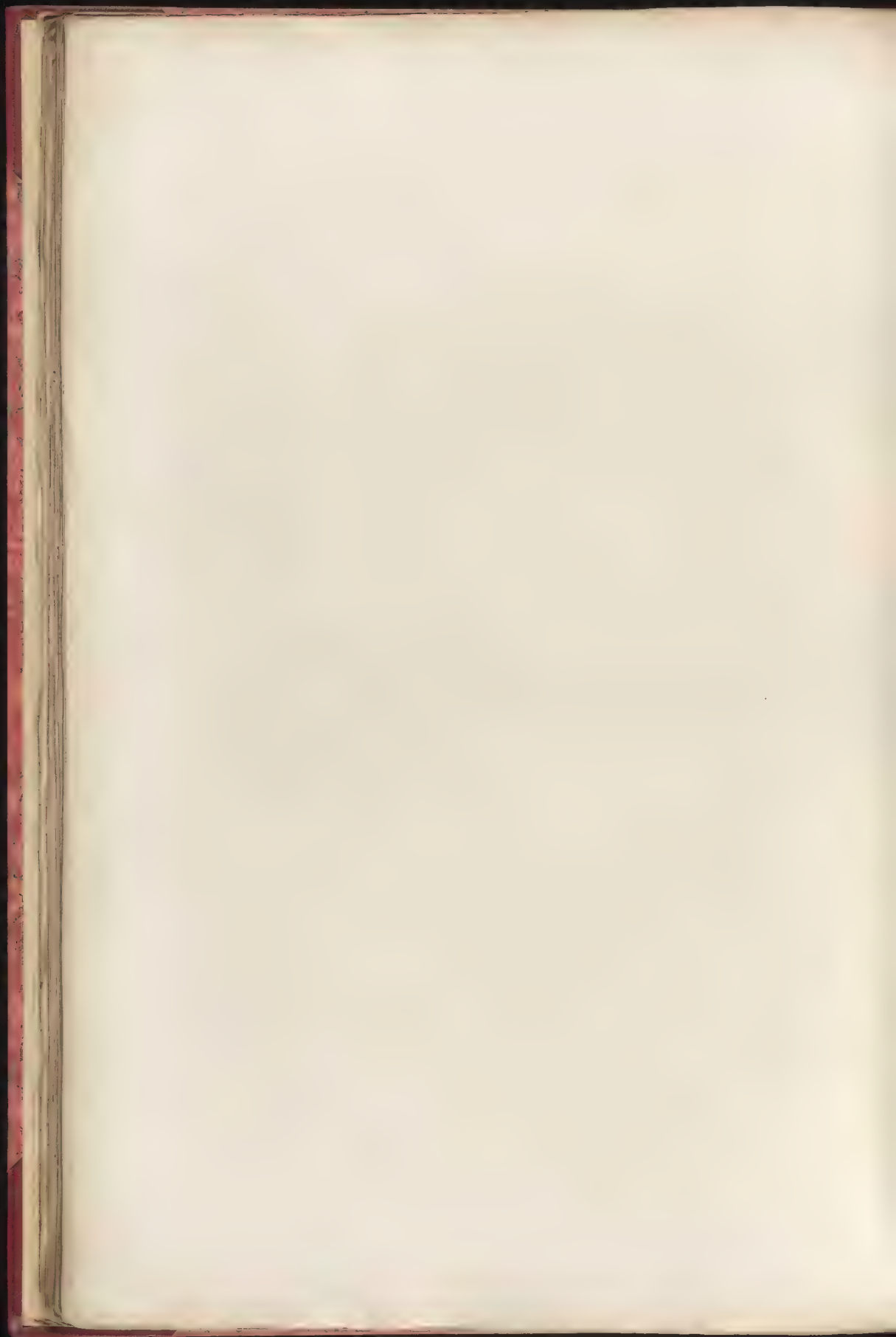




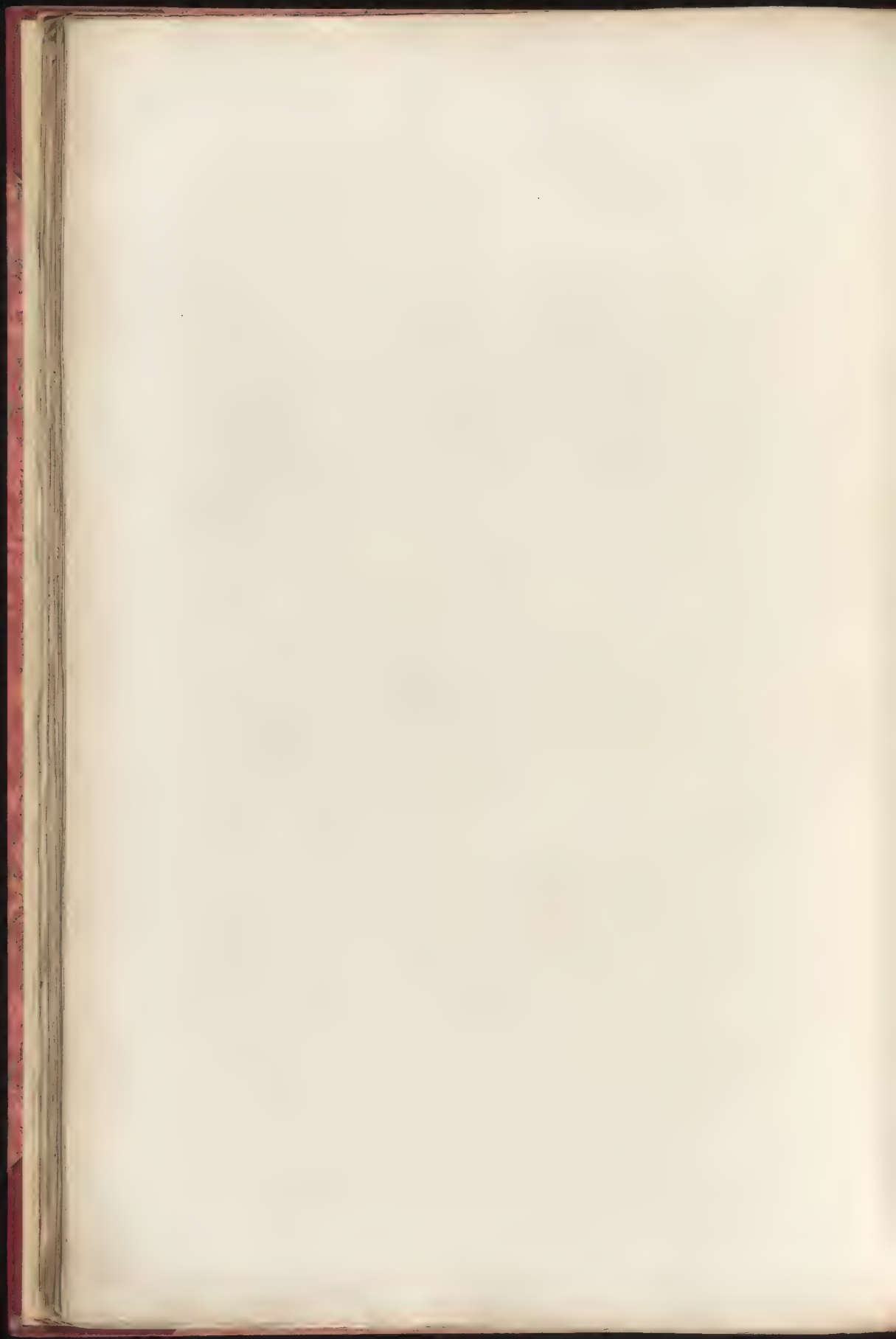




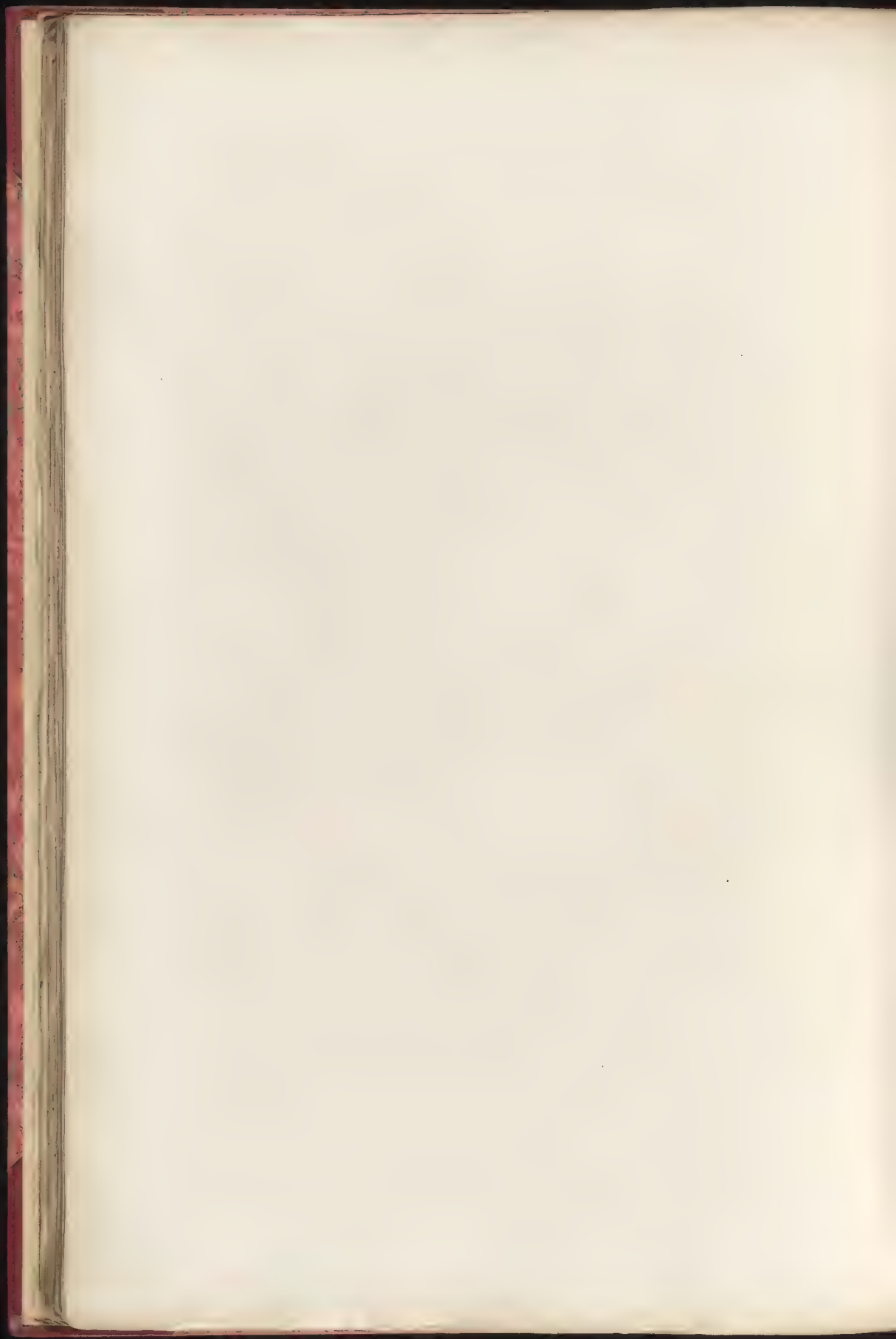




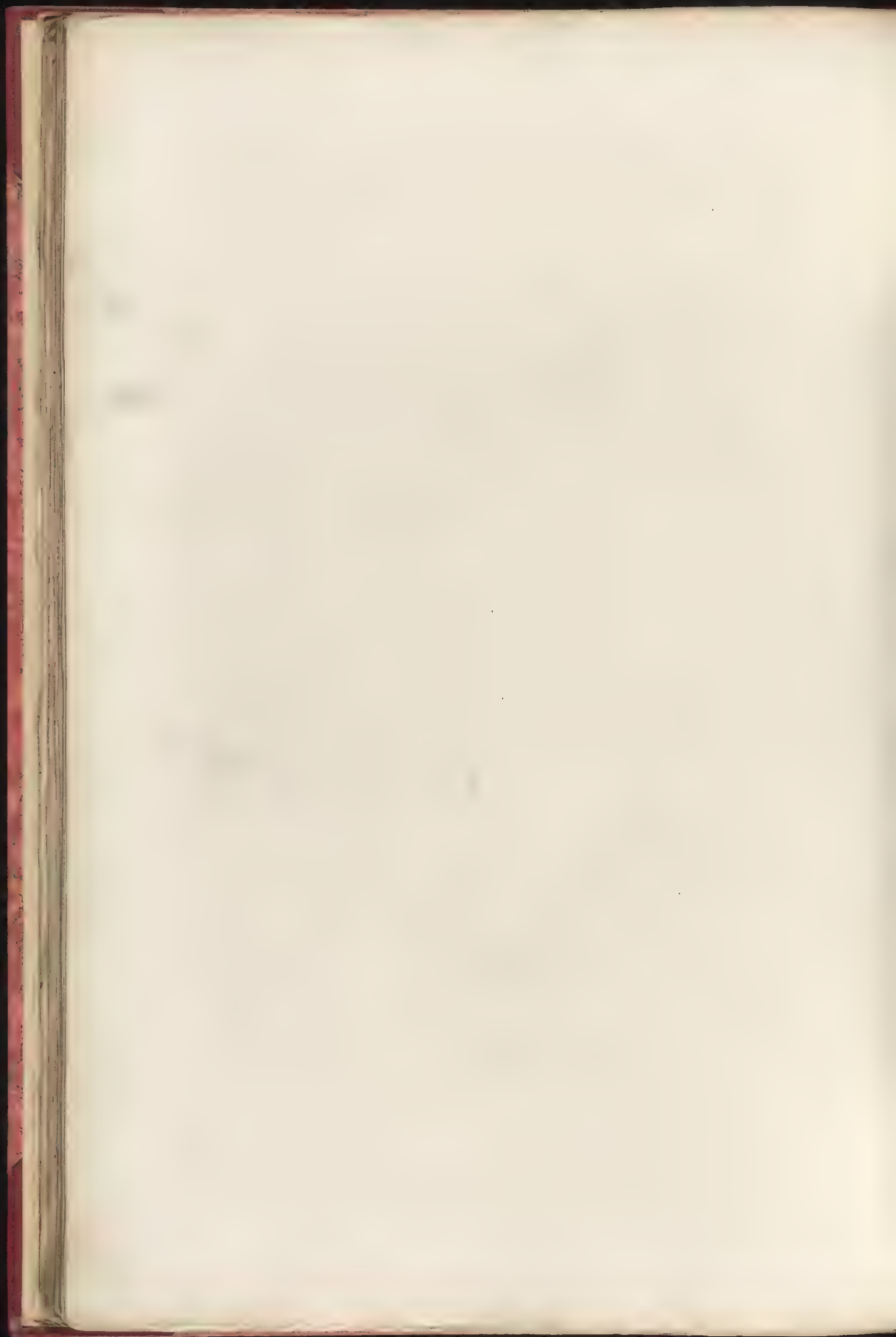




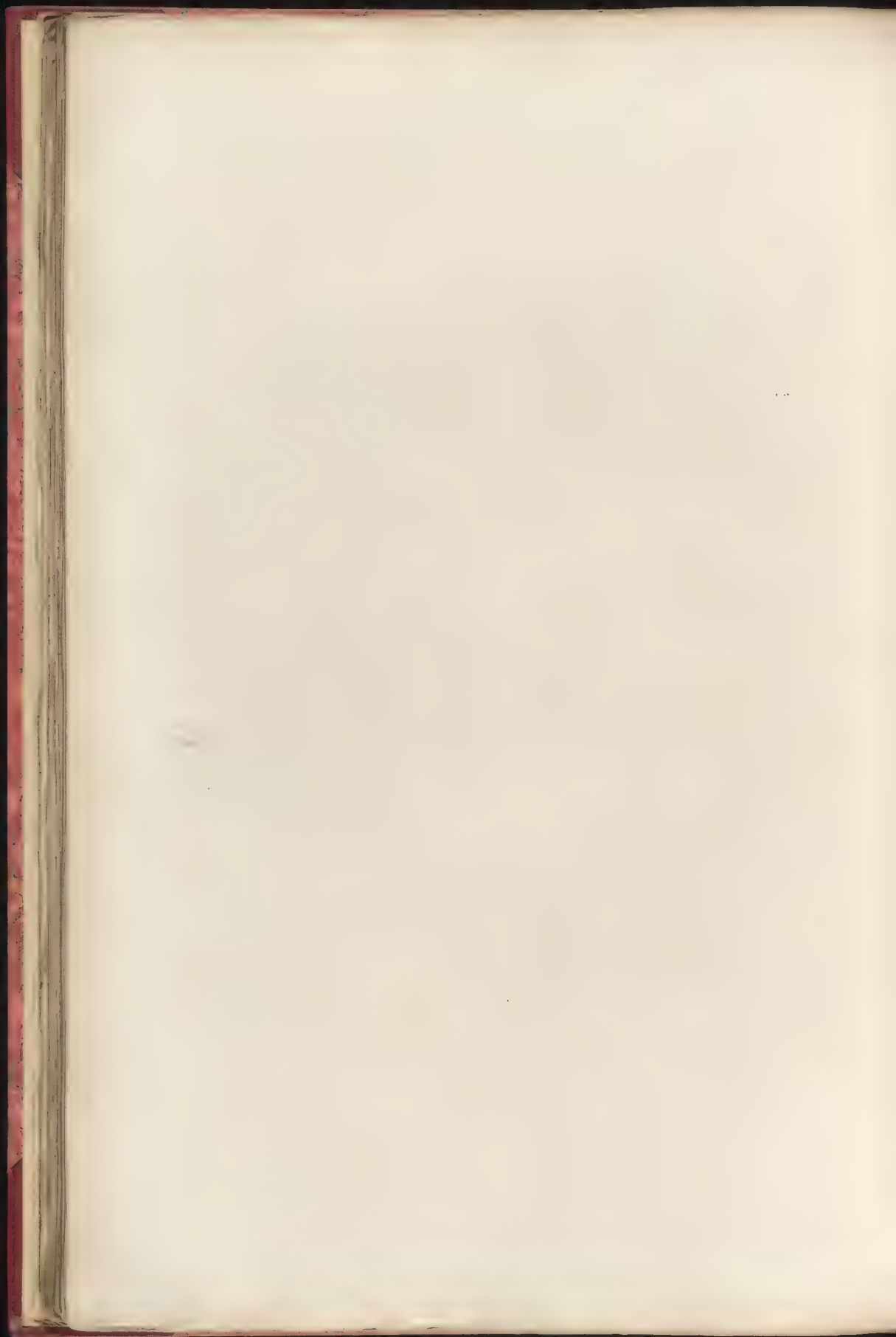






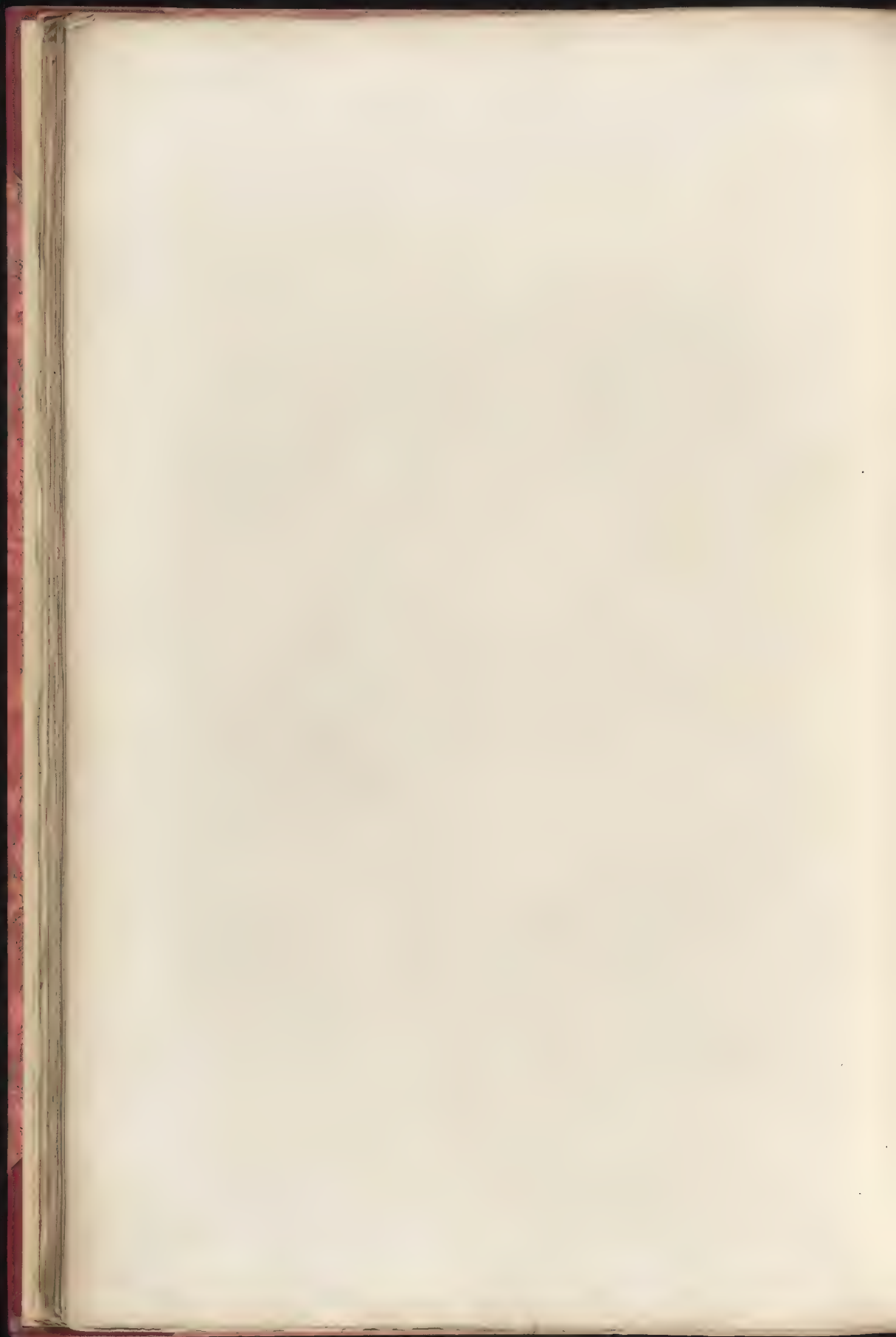








The triumph of Largesse or Bounty over Avarice





Fragment of a Victor triumphant



An ornamental pattern found in one of the round headed windows filled up in the painted flanking

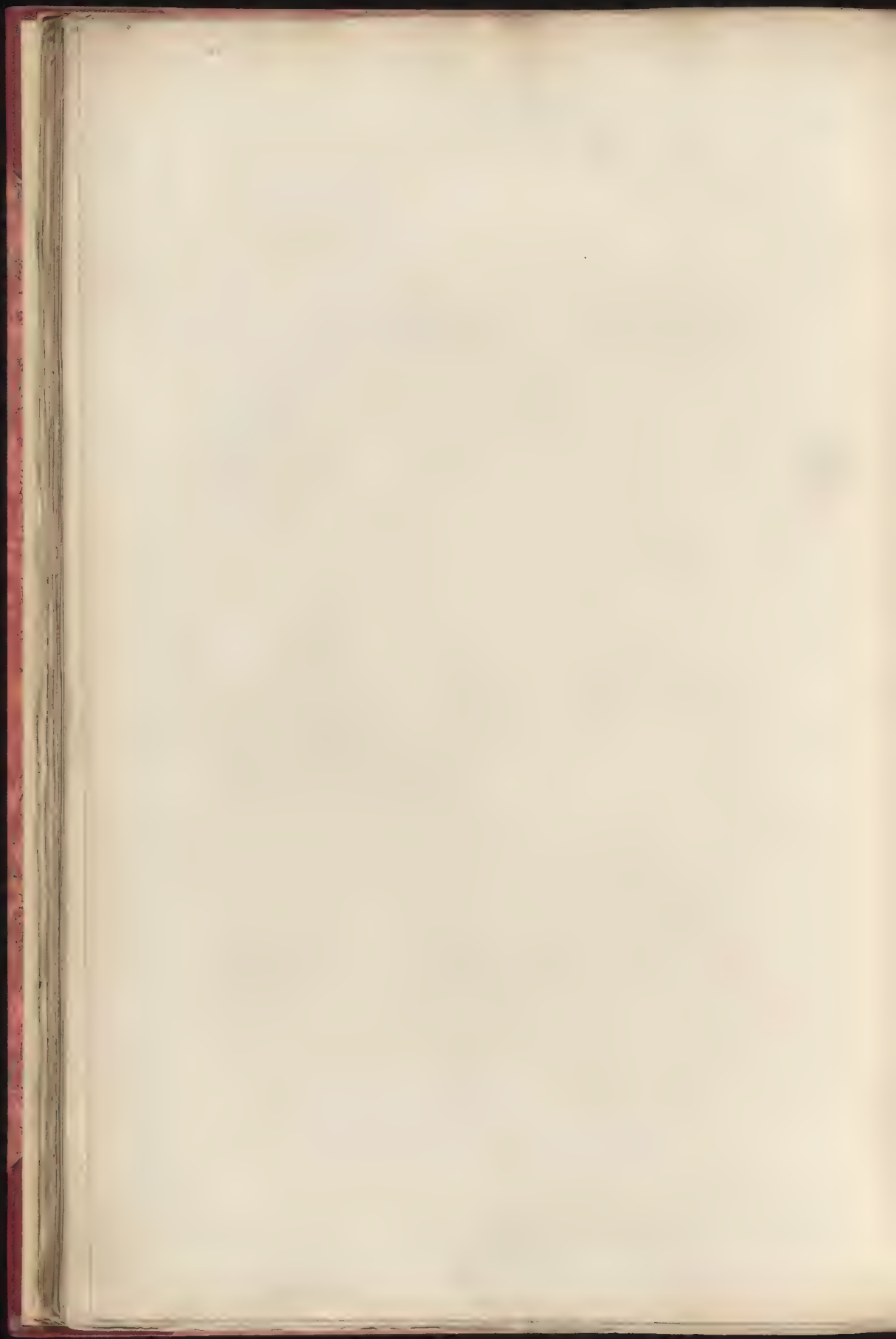


PLATE XL.

Notice of a Drawing in the Royal Library at Windsor, representing the CHAIR OF ST. PETER AT ROME. By ARTHUR ASHPITEL, Esq., F.S.A.

[Read April 11, 1861.]

Great interest has long been felt in the celebrated Chair of St. Peter, traditionally said to have been given to that apostle when in Rome by the Senator Pudens, whose daughters Sta. Pudenziana and Sta. Prassede hold distinguished places in the Roman Martyrology. It will be remembered that a very active controversy arose on the subject of this chair between Lady Morgan and Cardinal Wiseman, originating in a statement published by the former as long ago as 1821, on the authority of Baron Denon. The learned Baron is reported to have stated that the chair bore on it the formula of the Mahomedan profession of faith inscribed in Arabic characters. I need hardly, however, enter into the merits of this controversy, which could have readily been settled by an examination of the relic itself.

To examine, however, the chair itself is no light matter. Those who are acquainted with the magnificent church of St. Peter at Rome will remember the splendid bronze chair which is at the further end of the church, at the end of what we should call the choir, but which is there described as the Tribune. This is one of most gorgeous specimens of art to be found in the building, and is in truth the shrine of the famous chair. It is the work of Bernini, and is entirely of gilt bronze, and rests on a pedestal of black and white French marble, on which are placed four bases of Sicilian jasper. On these stand four gigantic statues of the great doctors of the Greek and Latin churches, St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, St. Athanasius, and St. Chrysostom. The first of these is nearly 18 feet in height, the others a little less. Each of the figures supports one of the legs of a magnificent chair, about 16 feet in height, the back of which is adorned with a bas-relief of Our Lord confiding the care of his sheep to St. Peter. Above is an assembly of innumerable angels disposed in groups round a circle, in the midst of which is set a panel of stained glass representing the Holy Dove surrounded by rays. The spaces between the legs of the chair are filled in with plates of glass, so as to form a sort of chamber for the reception of the ancient chair, the lowest part of the chamber being about 30 feet from the floor. The total height of the bronze chair is 100 feet from the floor, and the weight of metal employed was, according to Fontana, 219,000 Roman pounds, or nearly 75 tons English. This remarkable work is said to have cost 171,000 Roman scudi, which in our present money would represent about £100,000. It was erected in the pontificate of Alexander VII., from 1655 to 1667.

The inaccessible position of the relic, and the great veneration in which it is held, have always surrounded the ancient chair of St. Peter with a good deal of mystery, not a

little increased by the reported account of Baron Denon. It was therefore with no little gratification that I discovered a document of considerable importance respecting the chair in the Royal Library at Windsor. That library is being rearranged and remodelled by the exertions of one of our Fellows, Mr. B. B. Woodward. In turning over some papers a number of drawings were discovered which attracted the attention of the Prince Consort. They are chiefly architectural, or illustrations of the archæology of Rome, and include drawings of Oddi, Bartoli, and Carlo Fontana. From some of the volumes having on them the insignia of the Albano family, to which belonged Pope Clement XI. and from many of the reports among the papers being addressed to that pontiff, it is probable that they formed part of a purchase made from the Albano family by George III. Everything, at any rate, about them stamps them as untampered with and genuine.

Among the architectural drawings is one which forms the subject of this notice, and of which a fac-simile is given in Plate XL.¹ From the report accompanying the drawing it appears to represent the chair of St. Peter, and to have been made by the architect Carlo Fontana, who had been commanded by Clement XI. to report on the then state of the chair. His Royal Highness the Prince Consort has most obligingly consented to the drawing being exhibited to the Society, and has permitted me to make a fac-simile of it for publication.

The drawing is executed in water-colour, and was probably not made on the spot, but produced from a slight pencil sketch, which is preserved with it. On it are various letters of the alphabet and Arabic numerals referred to in the report, which is in the following words :

Relazione, o Disegno del Cavalier Carlo Fontana² data à N. Sig.^a Papa Clemente XI., della Cattedra, ouero sedia antica, di San Pietro, cioè l'anno 1705.

La Cattedra ouero Sedia di S. Pietro primo Papa, che risiede hora dentro il famoso ornamento di bronzo dorato, situato nel gran Tempio Vaticano, e longa nella fronte del Seditore di O a D palmi quattro, compreso tutto il legno,

¹ By inadvertence the letters of reference in the plate have been modernised ; in other respects it is a fac-simile of the original drawing.

² Carlo Fontana was born in 1694 in Bruciato, in the district of Como, in North Italy. Who his father and mother were does not seem well known, but it is probable that he was some connection of the descendants of the famous Domenico Fontana and his brother Giovanni. From Bruciato he came to Rome, and studied under Giovanni Lorenzo Bernini.

The following are his principal works :—

- I. The chapel called *Ginetti* in the church of Sant' Andrea della Valle.
 - II. Part of the Cibo chapel at the Madonna del Popolo.
 - III. The cupola, high altar, and ornaments at the Madonna dei Miracoli.
 - IV. The church of the nuns of Santa Marta.
 - V. The façade of the church of Beata Rita and San Marcello del Corso.
 - VI. The tomb of Queen Christina of Sweden at St. Peter's.
 - VII. Palazzo Grimani a Strada Rosella.
 - VIII. Palazzo Bolognetti.
 - IX. The fountain of Santa Maria in Trastevere.
 - X. The fountain in the piazza di San Pietro, towards the Porta Cavalleggieri.
 - XI. The repair of the church of the Spirito Santo dei Napolitani.
 - XII. The theatre of Tordinona.
 - XIII. By order of Innocent XII., San Michele a Ripa, the chapel of the Baptism at San Pietro, the completion of the Palazzo di Montecitorio.
 - XIV. Under Clement XI., the Granari a Termini, the portico of Santa Maria in Trastevere, the basin of the Fontana Paolina.
 - XV. The restoration of the Casino of the Vatican.
 - XVI. The library Della Minerva.
 - XVII. The cupola of the Cathedral at Montefiascone.
 - XVIII. Palace and villa at Frascati for Monsignor Visconti.
- Besides these, he sent to Fulda a model for the cathedral, and other models to Vienna for the imperial stables. *Milizia* adds that in the greater part of these works Fontana has exhibited a licentious and corrupt style.

e di vano nelli braccioli palmi due e tre quarti, alta del posamento A sino alla traversa del seditore B palmi due e due terzi, e di larghezza ne i fianchi de i braccioli nel vano, cioè da D a A, palmi due e un quarto, e la spagliera, o sia appoggiatore, e alta dalla traversa B sino all' altra E palmi due e once una, et il frontespizio dalla detta traversa E sino alla cima F e alta palmo uno e once tre, la detta spagliera da G a H e longa palmi quattro, corrispondente alla fronte del seditore.

La detta cattedra e composta di legname di cerqua segnata No. I. goffamente lavorata, con riporti nel seditore e spagliera d'alcuni fregi d'aurorio larghi due dita, intagliati di fogliame non di buon disegno, intrecciate con alcuni Caproni, uve, e figurette, come una specie d'ornamenti baccanali, e di esso fregio ne mancano molti pezzi, come ne addita il disegno.

La spagliera, ovvero appoggiatore, come sopra uieno ornata con quattro archi, e pilastri, tre de' quali ne mancano, e di sotto vi e il medesimo ornato.

La fronte del seditore e serrata con una tavola di noce ordinaria, segnata No. 3.

La detta cattedra ha quattro riporti ne i cantoni, segnati No. 2, di legno di pino tutto laceri, e quasi cariati, come si uede da C, G, H, e D.

A causa dell' antichità del legno di cerqua si crede, che si rilassasse ouero si slogasse dal suo essere, provvidero l'antichi come si uede del rinforzo dei detti legni di pino cantonali con un cingolo di ferro segnato No. 6, che circoisce tutta la sedia, e di sotto con un altro cingolo di ferro segnato No. 7, che la circoisce da basso con l'altre No. 8 vicino à terra, che abbracciano li fianchi della spagliera.

Nella distanza del frontale e spagliera ui sono palmi due e un quarto di vano, che con li risalti assegnano palmi due e mezzo per la situazione del cuscino sostenuto d'alcuni pezzi di corame, come redine delle briglie de cavalli, rozamente inchiodati, e detto cuscino e di tela sottile, nobile, tessuta d'alcune cose, che malamente si riconoscono, il qual cuscino e a suo douere pieno, che situato sopra le redine non alza piu che un quarto sopra la traversa, come si uede alla linea punteggiata No. 5 segnata di giallo.

Vi sono nel frontespizio tre afori, uno maggiore e due minore, con alcune piaghe o incaui nel legno; si crede che fossero luoghi di qualche ornamento riportato; e nella parte superiore del frontespizio ui sono due sfranghe di ferro, che abbracciano di dietro la spagliera segnata No. 9.

Il disegno si e fatto con le precise misure, etiam le parti minute del palmo d' architetto, e ridotta nella proporzione con la scaletta de palmi segnata nel proprio disegno.

NOTE. Owing to the lamented death of the accomplished author of this paper, and the great amount of additional information which has been obtained since the paper was read, it has been thought desirable to publish only those portions of Mr. Ashpitel's remarks that relate to Fontana's Report, as the author no doubt would have wished to modify his general observations on the history of the chair to suit the altered state of the question. This is the less to be regretted as Mr. Nesbitt has been in a position to enter more fully than Mr. Ashpitel could have done into the art and history of the relic.

Fontana entered into a calculation of the whole cost of St. Peter's from its commencement to the year 1694. The result was 46,852,000 scudi. In this calculation is not included the expense of models, demolition of walls, and the campanile of Bernini. Fontana's calculation was not based upon the registers, which are incomplete, but upon the measurement of the building, which, according to him, amounted to 111,122,000 cubic palms. This calculation owes its origin to the report which arose that the cupola of St. Peter's was unsafe. Pope Innocent XI accordingly took an opinion of all the greatest architects, and charged Fontana with a description of the Temple of the Vatican for present and future use. The opinion of these men quieted the fears of the people as to the insecurity of the building, but in 1742 the report again spread, and eventually eight circles of iron were braced around the cupola. This was completed in 1747.

Carlo Fontana had two grandsons, one of whom, Girolamo, who died when young, built the façade of the cathedral at Frascati, as well as a fountain in the same place. Amongst his pupils are mentioned Carlo Bizzaccheri, who altered the Palazzo Negroni, and built the palace of San Luigi dei Francesi. Alessandro Specchi, another pupil, built the Palazzo de Carolis, now dei Gesuiti, the porto di Ripetta, and the portico di San Paolo.

For mention of Carlo Fontana consult "Vito dei Celebri Architetti" [by Milizia], p. 389, et seq.; Milizia, *Dizionario delle Belle Arte*, Bologna, 1828, ii. 81; Milizia, *Memorie degli Architetti*, Bassano, 1785, ii. 216, et seq.; Gwilt, *Encyclopædia of Architecture*, London, 1867, p. 167, sec. 365.



Facsimile of the drawing of St Peter's Chair by Carlo Fontana
 after the original by W. H. R. R. R.

PLATES XLI., XLII.

Copies from Drawings preserved in the Sacristy of St. Peter's at Rome, representing the CHAIR OF ST. PETER: with Observations by ALEXANDER NESBITT, Esq., F.S.A.

[Read Jan. 16, 1868.]

The "Cathedra Petri," or episcopal chair of St. Peter, is an object to which tradition, supported by papal authority, has attached great sanctity; but as until the year 1866 it had been for more than two centuries almost entirely secluded from human eyes, its form and character were known to very few excepting those who had seen the rare books in which it is figured or described, or who had examined the drawings of it which are to be seen in the Sacristy of the Vatican Basilica.

The exhibition, therefore, by Mr. Ashpitel, by permission of His Royal Highness the late Prince Consort, at a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries, on the 11th of April, 1861, of a drawing of this chair preserved in the Royal Library at Windsor, excited much attention and interest, and it was considered desirable that an engraving copied from this drawing should be published in the *Vetusta Monumenta*; as, however, this drawing, though in many respects valuable, has no pretensions to the character of an exact or careful delineation of the chair, more accurate representations were required in order that the subject should be fully illustrated, and the Director of the Society, A. W. Franks, Esq., procured from Rome careful tracings of the above mentioned drawings in the Sacristy of St. Peter's.

On the occasion of the centenary celebration of the Martyrdom of St. Peter in 1866, the chair was brought out from the repository, in which it has long been inclosed—a sort of closet in the wall of the apse or tribunal of St. Peter's¹—and placed over the altar in one of the chapels of that church. While there it was carefully examined by two distinguished Roman archaeologists, the Cavaliere G. B. De Rossi, and the Padre Raffaele Garrucci of the Collegio Romano, both Honorary Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries. The former of these has published in the *Bulletino di Archeologia Cristiana* for May and June, 1867, a very instructive paper on the *cathedra*, in which he embodies the result of his personal examination; and Padre Garrucci has stated in letters addressed to W. M. Wylie, Esq., F.S.A., what he has been able to observe, and the conclusions which he deduces from his observations. In Appendix I. that part of Cavaliere De Rossi's paper which describes the chair is printed; Appendix II. is an extract from Padre Garrucci's letters. The chair was also photographed, and a woodcut from one of these photographs is given on the next page but one.² These photographs should of course furnish

¹ It would seem that it was at one time inclosed in the great bronze chair (*see ante*, p. 1), but the writer was assured, on very good authority, that of late years it has been kept in the repository mentioned in the text.

² For permission to use this cut, engraved originally for *Roma Sotterranea*, London, 1869, the Society of Antiquaries is indebted to the Rev. J. S. Northcote, D.D., one of the learned editors of that work.

the most trustworthy representation of the chair in its entirety, but difficulties of manipulation, arising from the situation in which the chair was placed, have prevented the details from being rendered with the clearness and distinctness which is to be desired, and in some cases these details have been subsequently clumsily and incorrectly supplied. We have now therefore much information on which we can rely as to the real character of this remarkable object; to complete our knowledge we only require accurate representations of the more important parts of the bands of carved ivory with which the chair is decorated, which bands may be safely assumed to be co-eval with it. The publication of this memoir has been delayed in the hope that such representations might be procured; but, as it has been found that there is no present probability that such will be the case, it has been judged better to delay no longer.

It is proposed in this communication—first, to furnish so much description of the chair and of the ivory carvings as may be required, and to comment on and compare them with other objects of similar character: secondly, to give such notices of its history as may be collected from ancient or modern writers, or from documents: thirdly, to inquire what would appear to be its real origin and date: and lastly, (in Appendices, &c.) to notice some matters relating to it which ought not to be altogether passed over.

It may be well here to state that the drawings in the Sacristy of St. Peter's were made in the year 1784 by Signor S. A. Scardovelli; that at Windsor by the Cavaliere Carlo Fontana, evidently with a view to accompany and explain the report on the chair, which will be found printed at the end of Mr. Ashpitel's paper immediately preceding the present notice.

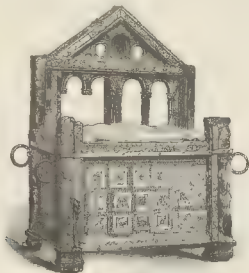
Any detailed description of the chair is of course unnecessary, as the plates will furnish a correct idea of its form. According to the scale attached to the elevation in Scardovelli's drawings, which may be assumed to be in Roman architectural palms of 8·79 English inches, the chair measures in height to the top of the pediment 6^p 5³/₈^{anc} = 4 feet 8·75 inches; in width across the front 3^p 11^{anc} = 2 feet 10·4 inches; in depth from front to back 3^p = 2 feet 2·37 inches; and in height from the ground to the top of the bar which supported the seat 2^p 11^{anc} = 2 feet 1·64 inch.¹ The seat is wanting, but it was probably inserted in the rabbet or groove in the bar at the back, and then dropped on the projecting piece of the bar at the front. Fontana, as will have been seen from his report, printed with Mr. Ashpitel's paper, states that the cushion was sustained by strips of leather roughly nailed on; but this was probably not the primitive arrangement. The bars as well of the sides as of the front and back, and the other set of bars near the ground, are all moulded internally into two hollows, the reason for which decoration is not obvious.

The chair is composed of wood, into which bands of carved ivory have been inserted, and plates or tablets of ivory are affixed to the front below the seat. The various authorities who have given accounts of it do not agree as to the nature of the wood of which the various parts are composed. Cavaliere Fontana, in the report attached to his drawing, says that it is of oak (*cerqua*), and that the pieces attached to it are of pine. Padre Garrucci (Appendix II.) says that the interior parts of the chair are of a wood "which, as is said, is *acacia*," while the external pieces are of oak; and Cavaliere De Rossi (Appendix I.) describes the former portions to be of a "blackish wood of *acacia*" and the latter to be of yellowish oak. All three agree in saying that the rings are fixed into the oaken portions, and that these are wormeaten, decayed, and much damaged by the cutting off of fragments to serve as relics. The drawings and descriptions make it quite clear that the oaken parts are additions to the chair. Carlo Fontana calls the

¹ These dimensions, it will be seen, do not quite agree with those given by Fontana in his report.

angle pieces "quattro riporti;" Padre Garrucci distinguishes between them and the "sedia interna;" and Cavaliere De Rossi says that the "sedia" is inclosed and bound within the "armatura" or framework of oak, the last writer adding that some of the pieces of this "armatura" have been supplied by others of the same material as the "sedia" itself, *i.e.* acacia.

The brown irregular pieces of wood shown in Fontana's drawing (Plate XL.), are no doubt intended to represent this "armatura." In the Plate given by Phœbeus (*De Identitate Cathedre*, &c.) they are indistinctly shown as rough planks, but in Scardovelli's large drawings they are not shown at all, being no doubt considered by him merely in the light of rough work added to strengthen the chair and keep it together. It will be observed that in Fontana's drawing the capitals of the little pilasters in the back are represented as if rude imitations of Ionic, but the photographs show that Scardovelli's drawing (Plate XLI.) represents them with greater fidelity as composed of two discs. I shall have occasion hereafter to refer to this peculiar feature. The oval openings in the pediment are shown in Scardovelli's sectional drawing (Plate XLII.) as bevelled on each side, and the photographs confirm this; in the perspective drawing they are not so represented, but this must be attributed to some carelessness of the draughtsman or copyist.



Chair of St. Peter (from a Photograph).

There is an absence of ornament, and a simplicity amounting almost to rudeness, in the architectural details, which does not harmonize with the ivory carvings, and leads to the supposition that much of the now unornamented surface was once, like the Coronation Chair in Westminster Abbey, covered with superficial raised decoration and painted and gilt.

The carvings in ivory which decorate the chair remain to be considered, and these, it is obvious, belong to two classes—the tablets which cover the front below the place for the seat, and the narrow bands which ornament the upright and the transverse pieces of the front and the anterior part of the back. Those of the first class, *viz.*, the tablets, are not co-original with the chair, having no doubt been removed from some other object which they once decorated; they are here placed, some upside down, and nearly all so as not to correspond one with another, their height and length and the patterns of the ornamental borders which surround them not coinciding. The study of these will therefore give little, if any, aid in the investigation of the history of the chair; but, as they are works of considerable curiosity and interest, a detailed account of them is given in Appendix III. It may be sufficient here to say that they are no doubt Byzantine, and probably date from the eleventh century.

The bands of ornament which are inserted in the upright and transverse pieces of the front, and in the anterior part of the back, are far more important as assisting us

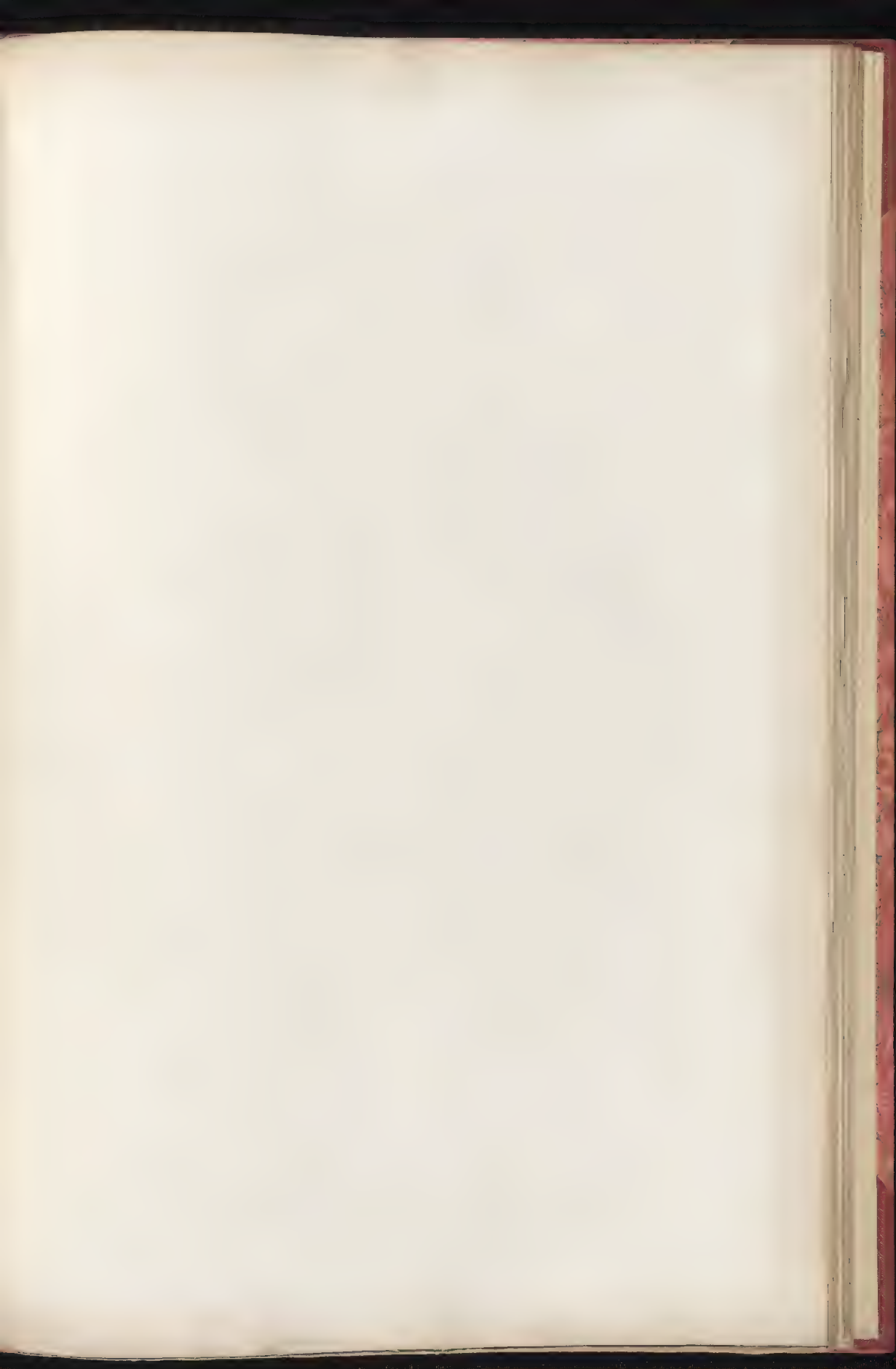
in forming a judgment as to the date and place of fabrication of the *cathedra*; for it is obviously probable, indeed almost certain, that they and the chair are of one and the same date. Unfortunately the small scale of the drawings and photographs makes it impossible to speak very decidedly either as to their subjects or their style; all have rich and elegant scrolls of foliage, inclosing in their folds figures of men fighting, or mounted on horses, or on sea monsters, of centaurs, birds, &c., with the exception of a portion of the band placed horizontally below the pediment, which consists of foliage only. This, no doubt, is the piece which Padre Garrucci speaks of as being a restoration, and of inferior execution. Other portions, it will be seen, are now not in their original positions.

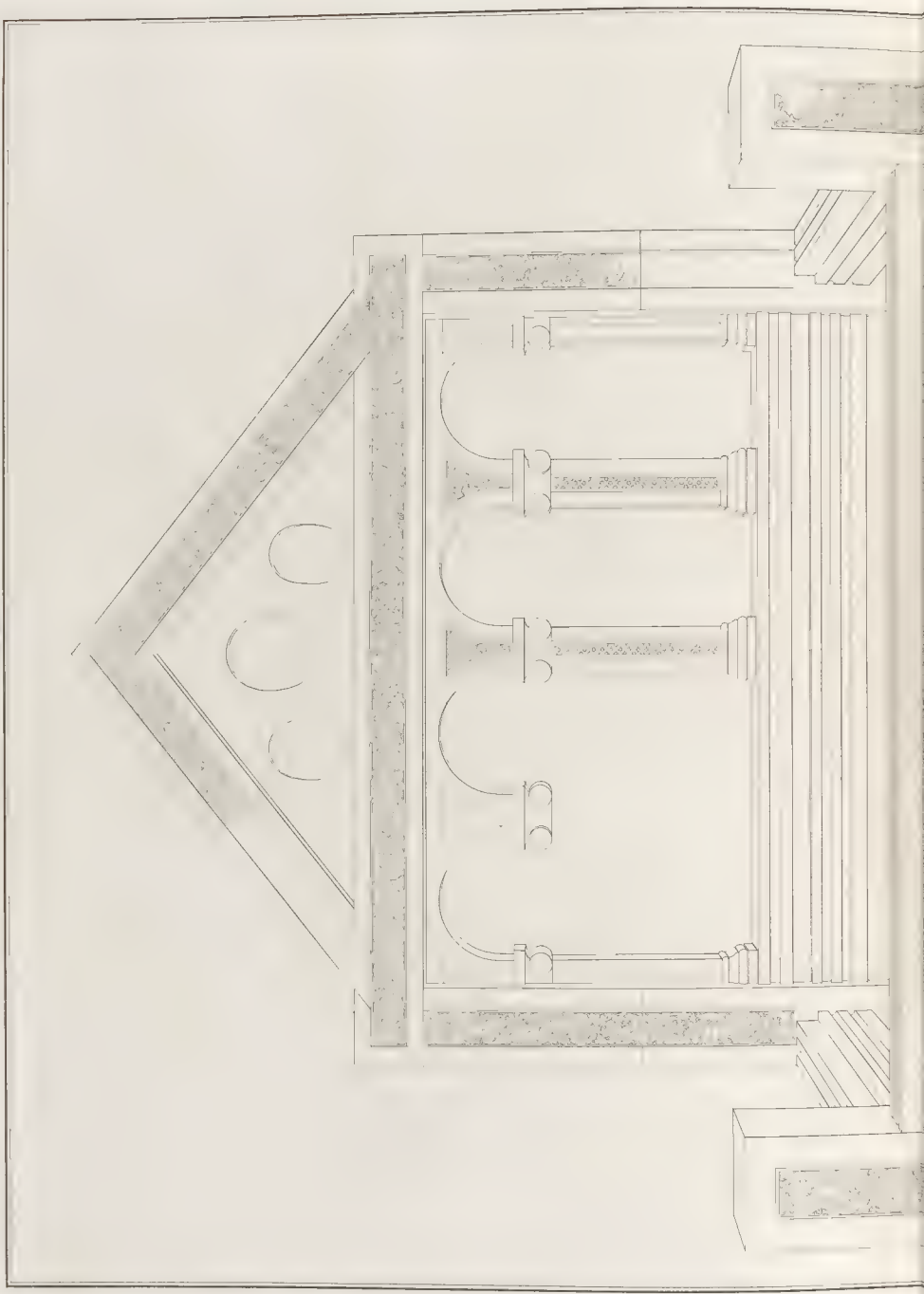
These bands are described by Padre Garrucci as "traforate a sottosquadro," pierced and undercut, and the work, he says, is such as might be expected to be produced by an excellent artist of the ninth century copying from ancient models.

The most remarkable part of these bands is certainly that which forms the centre of the horizontal line at the base of the pediment. Here is a half-length figure clothed in a cloak fastened on the right shoulder, and wearing an open crown which has ornaments in the form of a fleur-de-lis, rising from its circlet; this crowned figure holds in the right hand a globe, in the left the fragment of a sceptre. The chin is shaven, but moustachios on the upper lip are visible. The whole, says Padre Garrucci, bears a striking resemblance to the figure of Charles the Bald as depicted in the beginning of the famous "Bibbia di S. Paolo." (See d'Agincourt, *Hist. de l'Art par ses Monuments. Peinture*, pl. xl.) On either side of this figure are two winged figures like the classical impersonations of Victory; two of these offer to the central figure crowns, and the other two palm branches; beyond these are pairs of combatants, in whom Padre Garrucci sees the guards of the Emperor killing his enemies. The highest divisions of the sides of the pediment contain half-length figures, which may be those of Apostles, Prophets, or Saints; that on the left has the right hand raised in the attitude of allocution. In the other divisions of these sides will be found centaurs, a man killing a bear, one riding on a sea-horse, a seated figure with a snake twisting round his arm, and others whose occupations it is not easy to make out. In the upright bands at the back are for the most part single figures of men, sometimes armed with darts or arrows, and a lion and a gryphon.

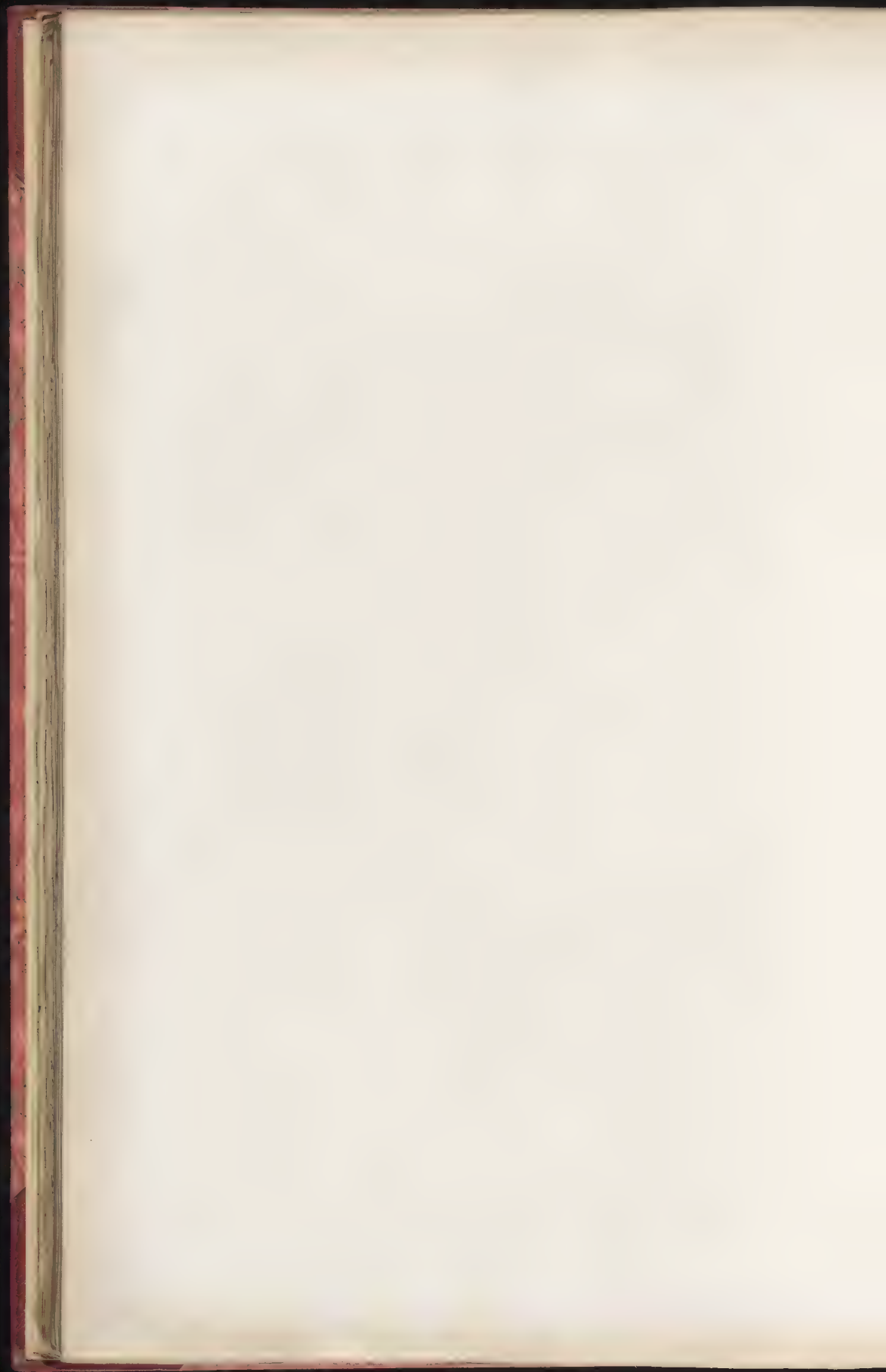
The centre of the band running below the seat of the chair is filled by a grotesque mask, from which the foliage springs. In the folds of this are centaurs armed with bows and arrows and other weapons which they hold in threatening attitudes, grotesque monsters, half men and half birds, and men on horseback. Snakes twist themselves round the foliage, and are held or struck at by the men or the centaurs. These last, it will be seen, are represented in the medieval manner, with two, not four legs. In the upright band, on the right of the front, most of the divisions are occupied by centaurs, some of whom are armed with a sword and a small round shield; but there are also birds, a lion, and men riding on sea-horses. In the band on the left are figures of men riding on various beasts, a lion, a camel, and an animal probably intended for a dragon; in this band there is also a grotesque mask. Two of the spaces between the arches of the back have decorations of the same style, and the fronts of the little piers which support the arches are ornamented by (no doubt) strips of ivory, with a pattern of small squares. Such is the character of the decoration which we may consider to be original; the question, To what period of art can it be supposed to belong? will be hereafter considered.

We will now proceed to inquire what information documents or passages in ancient writers afford us of the early history of this venerable relic.

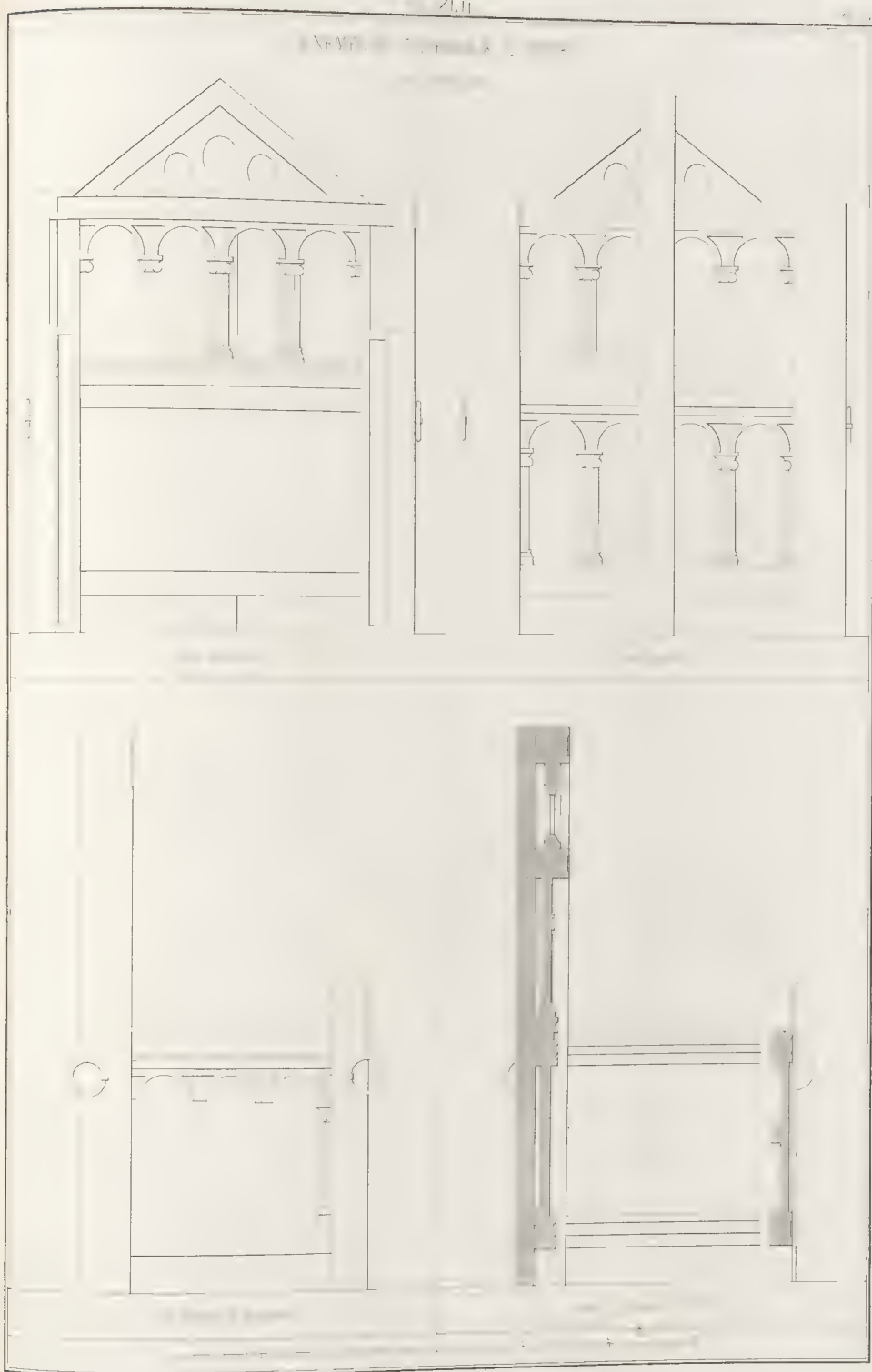








EX. VII. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.



The notices of this chair which can be gathered from historical or documentary sources are fewer than might be expected, but some are of considerable importance; they have been carefully collected by Phœbeus in the work entitled *De Identitate Cathedræ in qua Sanctus Petrus Romæ primum sedit et de Antiquitate et Præstantia Solemnitatis Cathedræ Romanæ Dissertatio*. Roma, MDCLXVI; and Cavaliere De Rossi, in the memoir referred to above, has commented on and added to them. From these writers, and from Cancellieri, *De Secretariis Basilicæ Vaticanæ*, what follows has been epitomized. Phœbeus begins his chain of evidence by quoting the passage of Tertullian's treatise, *De Præscriptionibus adversus Hereticos*, which will be noticed presently; but Cavaliere De Rossi prefers first to cite Ennodius, Bishop of Pavia, a writer of the earlier part of the sixth century, and to trace the line of testimony upwards to Tertullian. He therefore begins his *catena* of evidence by quoting from the treatise by Ennodius, entitled *Libellus apologeticus pro Synodo* (p. 356, Paris ed. 1611), the following passage, "Ecce nunc ad gestatoriam sellam apostolicæ confessionis uda mittunt limina candidatos; et uberibus gaudio exactore fletibus collata Dei beneficio dona geminantur." In this passage the author doubtless meant to refer to the confirmation bestowed by the Bishop of Rome on the neophytes after baptism. De Rossi then proceeds to connect this mention of a pontifical chair in the baptistery of the Vatican with the inscription placed on the font or piscina which was constructed in that building by Pope Damasus, in the second half of the fourth century, one verse of which runs thus—"Una Petri sedes unum verumque lavacrum" (Gruter, *Inscript.* p. 1163, 10), by the help of inscriptions preserved in the collection of Roman epigraphs in a MS. at Verdun, parts of which are as follows :—

Istic insontes celesti flumine lotas
Pastoris summi dextera signat oves;

and

Roborat hic animos divino fonte lavacrum,
Et dum membra madent, mens solidatur aquis.
Auxit apostolicæ geminatum sedis honorem :—
Christus et ad coelos hunc dedit esse viam.

This last, he says, was inscribed on the entrance to the "*fonte*," by which he probably means the baptistery. To these he adds, the "elogio sepolcrale" of Pope Siricius, the successor of Damasus (Gruter, l.c., p. 1171, 16), "*Fonte sacro magnus meruit sedere sacerdos*," concluding, on apparently good grounds, that in the fourth century a pontifical chair known as the "*Sedes Petri*" or "*Sedes Apostolica*" actually stood in the baptistery of the Vatican.

To prove that this chair was at that time reputed to be the chair in which St. Peter had actually sat, he brings forward the words of Optatus of Milevi, who, when writing against the Donatists, who had set up at Rome a bishop of their own sect, Macrobius, uses these expressions: "Denique si Macrobio dicatur, ubi illic sedeat, numquid potest dicere in Cathedra Petri? quam nescio si vel oculis novit, et ad ejus memoriam non accedit quasi schismaticus." (*De Schismate Donatistarum*, lib. ii. c. iv.)

He then refers to the anonymous poem against Marcion which has been printed as an appendix to the works of Tertullian, and adduces arguments to show that the poem may be deemed to be the work of the third century; towards the end of the third book of this poem, at the commencement of an enumeration of the Bishops of Rome, occur the lines,

Hac Cathedra Petrus qua sederat ipse, locatum
Maxima Roma Linum primum considerare jussit.

He then adverts to the passage in the 52nd epistle of Cyprian, in which, when writing

of the bishopric of Rome, vacant by reason of the martyrdom of St. Fabian, he says, "Cum locus Fabiani, id est locus Petri, et gradus cathedræ sacerdotalis vacaret"—suggesting that the writer had in view the real chair, and not merely the episcopal office and succession. The well-known passage in the treatise of Tertullian, *De Præscriptionibus adversus Hereticos*, is the next link in the chain; in this (cap. xxxvi.) the writer, *so far as quoted by De Rossi*, uses the following words: "Percurre ecclesias apostolicas apud quas ipse adhuc cathedræ apostolorum suis locis præsidet, si Italiæ adjaces habes Romam;" and De Rossi, assuming that Tertullian meant to assert the existence in the "Ecclesiæ Apostolicæ" of the material chairs which had once been occupied by the Apostles who had founded those churches, argues, that, as Tertullian would appear to have been in Rome in the latter years of the second century, a *cathedra* existed in Rome about A.D. 200, which tradition asserted to have been the seat from whence St. Peter taught. The correctness of these inferences will be discussed in a later part of this memoir.

From the sixth to the eleventh century little or nothing is to be met with which can be asserted with certainty to refer to this chair, but it may be that Anastasius, when he speaks of Pope Sergius II. (844-847) as being installed in the "apostolica beati Petri snoratissima sedes,"¹ meant to refer either to this chair or to another of which a notice will be found in Appendix V.

There is good ground (Phœbeus, p. lvii.) for supposing that from the eleventh century until the period of the secession to Avignon this chair was occupied by the Popes on certain solemn festivals, and especially on the occasion of their enthronization at the Vatican after their election. It appears to have been kept usually in the chapel of St. Adrian, in the right transept of St. Peter's, where Pope Adrian I. (772-795) is said (Phœbeus, p. xlix.; Cancellieri, p. 1254) to have caused a marble repository, highly ornamented, to be made to receive it. According to the authority quoted by Cancellieri, Maphæus Vegius, who wrote about A.D. 1447, this repository or "locus" was in the altar or altar inclosure (in ipso altario).

It however does not appear to have been invariably kept there, for notices are found of its being in the Chapel of St. Anna, and in that of SS. Lambertus and Servatius. It is said to have been exposed to a conflagration in the time of one of the Alexanders, but the authorities differ as to whether this occurrence took place during the papacy of Alexander II. (1061-1073), or that of Alexander IV. (1254-1261.) The chair at any rate is said to have escaped uninjured.

In 1279, Pope Nicholas III. made rules as to payments to be made to the Canons "portantibus ad altare et reportantibus Cathedram S. Petri." (Phœbeus, p. lviii.)

Pope Sixtus IV. in 1481, covered the chair with a magnificent piece of stuff of gold and silk, it being at that time preserved in a *tabernaculum* in the Chapel of SS. Servatius and Lambertus. (Cancellieri, p. 1245.) It was afterwards kept in the Sacristy of the Vatican, but by Pope Alexander VII. placed, according to the same author, within the bronze chair which occupies the apse of St. Peter's, but more probably in a sort of closet in the wall; in this last place it has remained with scarcely any interruption until

¹ The writer would seem to refer to a chair, but *sedes* was certainly used in the dark ages to express a church, the seat of a bishop; thus in the inscription in mosaic in the cathedral of Parenzo in Istria we find the word clearly so used circa A.D. 522.

"Ut vidit subito lapsuram pondere sedem
Providus et fidei fervens ardore sacerdos (sic)
Euphrasius sancta precessit mente ruinam
Labentes melius sedituras deruit ædes
Fundamenta locans erexit culmina templi."

Heider und Bittelberger, *Mittelalt. Kunstdenk. des Oesterreich. Kaiserstaates*, vol. i. p. 106.

the present day. The drawing and survey made by Fontana in 1705, and the drawings made by Scardovelli in 1784, prove that on those two occasions it was made visible. It has been asserted that it was brought out from its repository when the French were in occupation of Rome (in 1808 ?), but this is denied. (See Appendix VI.)

The question which must now be considered is, What judgment must we, in view of such facts and such historical testimonies, form as to the age and original destination of this object ?

A very slight acquaintance with the art of the classical period will show how ill-founded is the supposition which has been entertained by some writers (among them Cardinal Wiseman), that the *Cathedra Petri* was the curule chair of the Senator Pudens, bestowed by him upon St. Peter. Monsieur Lenormant has shown in his memoir on the "Fauteuil de Dagobert" (*Mélanges Archéologiques*, i. 165), that the curule chair was so framed as to fold up like many modern garden chairs. Nor does it at all resemble in form the other classes of chairs in use among the Romans of the Imperial period : those in ordinary domestic use, as may be seen by existing examples in museums (especially in those of the Vatican and of Naples), and by many representations in painting and sculpture, assumed many forms, often closely resembling those of a modern four-legged chair with a curved back. They were often of bronze, though generally no doubt of wood. The *sella gestatoria*, although its precise form has not been made known to us by any monument as yet described, would appear from the mention made of it by writers of the time to have been a covered chair somewhat like a sedan, and doubtless of a light construction. The *bisellium*, a seat of honourable distinction, was rather a large stool than a chair, having neither back nor arms. The *sellæ balneares*, chairs for use in the bath, during the Imperial period, were usually of marble, of moderate size, rounded behind, and with a low straight back finishing with a curved outline. Several such exist in various basilicas at Rome, having been employed as *cathedrae*, or episcopal chairs, by Popes of the earlier centuries, as e.g. in S. Stefano Rotondo,¹ SS. Nereo ed Achilleo, and others. The chairs in the catacombs hewn in the living rock, which are supposed to have served as *cathedrae*, have very much the same form. (v. *Mon. delle Arti Crist. Prim.* by Padre Marchi, xvii. xxxvi. &c.) This type appears indeed to have been somewhat generally adopted as that suitable for a *cathedra*. The ivory chair of Maximianus, Archbishop of Ravenna, in the first half of the sixth century, is, with the exception of its having a much higher back, nearly of this form.

The *Cathedra Petri* evidently belongs to no one of these classes, but to that of chairs with a high back but no arms, a form, which it would appear was, at least as early as the sixth century,² considered to be most appropriate for a throne or seat of super-eminent dignity. In the mosaics of the dome of Sta. Maria in Cosmedin, at Ravenna, (originally a baptistery), which date from the year 553, such a chair is represented, and on it is placed a jewelled cross as an emblem of Christ, while the Twelve Apostles stand around. (Ciampini, *Vet. Mon.* iii. tab. xxiii.) In the mosaics of S. Apollinare Nuovo at Ravenna, made about A.D. 570, the blessed Virgin Mary, carrying the infant Saviour, is shown as sitting on a similar throne. (Ciamp. t. ii. tab. xxvii.) In two carvings in ivory in which the Massacre of the Innocents is represented, Herod presides at the slaughter,

¹ The back has in this instance been cut away, but traces of it may be easily distinguished.

² The recognised form of a throne at a still earlier period would seem to have been a somewhat wide seat, with either a low back or none at all. In the earlier examples it closely approaches the *bisellium* in form, as on the silver disc at Madrid, on which Theodosius, Arcadius, and Honorius are represented on seats without arms and apparently without backs. In the mosaic (fourth century) in the apse of Sta. Pudenziana at Rome the throne on which our Lord sits appears to have a low straight back, and in the mosaic on the triumphal arch of Sta. Maria Maggiore in the same city the infant Saviour is placed on a wide seat with low sides and back.

seated on a throne of like form, with the exception that the back is straight instead of being formed into a pediment. Both these carvings are probably of Byzantine origin, and anterior to the period of the iconoclastic Emperors; according to M. Labarte, both may be assigned to the sixth century. Good engravings of them are given in the work of that writer. (*Histoire des Arts Industriels, &c. &c. Album*, t. i. p. v. vi.) The latter, which decorated the cover of an Evangelium belonging to the Cathedral of Milan, is among the carvings in ivory of which casts have been published by the Arundel Society.

In the mosaics of several churches built at Rome by Pope Paschal I. (A.D. 817-824), as Sta. Maria in Domnica, Sta. Prassede, and Sta. Cecilia, like thrones, similarly occupied, will be seen. (Ciampini, t. ii. tab. xlv. xlv. li.)

In still later times, as the eleventh and following centuries, representations of such thrones are frequent, especially in Byzantine works of art, as in the beautiful ivory triptych in the Museo Cristiano in the Vatican (Gori, *Thes. Vet. Dipt.* tab. xxiv.), which is probably of the eleventh century. In the engravings in d'Agincourt's great work (*Peinture*, pl. lxxxv. ci. cvi. cvii.) are examples in paintings either of the Byzantine or the Italo-Byzantine schools, dating from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

A very curious instance of the use of this form of seat as a throne may be found in the same work (*Peinture*, pl. lxvi.), in which illuminations from a Latin manuscript of the twelfth century are figured. The subject of the manuscript is a poem in honour of the Countess Matilda: this lady and her ancestors are depicted as sitting on such thrones, while bishops and other persons of inferior dignity sit on chairs without backs.

The back of the *Cathedra Petri*, it will be seen, finishes with a pediment; none of the thrones above-mentioned do so, with the exception of some of those in the manuscript last referred to. The backs of most of the others end with a horizontal, but sometimes with a curved, outline. Neither is the arcaded arrangement of the back and sides commonly met with, but it is to be found in the drawing of a chair and of a cradle in a Greek MS. of the twelfth century in the Vatican Library. (d'Agincourt, *Peinture*, pl. lxix.) The chair, in this instance, differs from the *Cathedra Petri*, and has arms, but the arcades are very similar. A like arcade, though on a very small scale, is very often seen in the Byzantine ivory carvings of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, particularly as an ornament to the footstools placed under the feet of the chief personage represented.

Not very many examples are to be found of episcopal chairs, or *cathedræ*, of an early date, made to be used as such. That in the cathedral of Parenzo, in Istria, which there seems no good reason for assigning to a later date than the sixth century, is perhaps one of the earliest now existing. It occupies the centre of the wall of the apse, with a bench on each side for the clergy, and is composed of slabs of marble, forming an elevated seat with a back and sides. (An engraving of it will be found in Heider und Eitelberger's *Mittelalterliche Kunstdenkmale des Oesterreichischen Kaiserstaates*, vol. i. p. 105.) Of not very unlike form is the *cathedra* in Sta. Cecilia at Rome, also composed of slabs of marble, which was probably placed there by Pope Paschal I. when he rebuilt the church. (A.D. 817-824.) The marble coronation chair in the Minster at Aachen closely resembles this last, and is believed to have been placed there by Charles the Great.

The chair of St. Mark at Venice, brought thither from Alexandria, is, no doubt, of a very early date, perhaps as early as the sixth or seventh century. It is cut from a single block of marble, and has a high back and arms. It has, however, many peculiarities, both of form and of ornament.

It will, I think, appear from what has been stated above, that the *Cathedra Petri* is more properly a throne than an episcopal *cathedra*.¹ The latter, it would seem, were always furnished with raised sides, or arms; but thrones, being intended for the reception of persons of the highest dignity, on occasions of great solemnity, when dresses of the utmost richness would be worn, were constructed without raised sides, in order that the stiff or voluminous embroidered robes of the dignitaries who occupied them might be conveniently disposed and fully seen.

Nor does this chair appear well adapted for a *sedes gestatoria*, that is to say, a chair in which a distinguished person should be carried in procession. Its solidity and weight, the perpendicular back, and want of sides, or of a footboard, would all make it unsuitable for such a use. The rings may possibly have been attached in order to facilitate its transport from one part of the church to another, for, as has been stated above, it would appear by the authorities quoted by Phœbeus (p. l. *et seqq.*) that the Popes during the period between A.D. 800 and the secession to Avignon were, in many instances, installed in a chair known as the "*Apostolica beati Petri sacratissima sedes*," and that they, when present at, or officiating in, certain services, occupied the chair so denominated.

If, then, it be admitted that the object with which we are concerned is not a *cathedra*, but a throne, an interesting question remains, viz., for what personage was this throne originally made?

The subjects represented on the ivory bands, and the style in which these are executed, evidently supply the information which will best enable us to answer this question. The absence of any religious or ecclesiastical symbol, and the presence of the Imperial effigy, of the attendant satellites, and of subjects connected with war and the chase, which have been already mentioned, obviously make it probable that it was destined for the use, not of a bishop but of an emperor, and there seems no improbability in the supposition that it was made for (or presented to) and occupied by Charles the Bald when he shewed himself in Rome with all the insignia of Imperial dignity on the occasion of his coronation there in 875.

If this opinion be well founded, it must be felt that this chair, although we cannot regard it with that interest and veneration which would have attached to it if we could have believed that it had been occupied by St. Peter, is still in its existence at Rome a highly significant memorial, as recalling one of the most important events in modern history, the alliance between the bishops of Rome and the lords of the Western world, who assumed the proud title and position of Roman emperors; and, in its subsequent occupation by the churchman, a true symbol of the position attained when the once humble bishop claimed to be above emperors and kings.

As has been already observed, the nearest approach to this chair, as regards its general character and architectural (so to speak) disposition and decoration, has been found in works of art referable to the school of Byzantium, or to that of some of its off-shoots; this character is recognized by both Padre Garrucci and Cavaliere de Rossi, the latter calling it a "true chair of Byzantine style." The examples adduced above which resemble it the most closely have, it is true, been chiefly found in a somewhat later period; but it must be remembered that the Byzantine school of art exhibits little ten-

¹ The distinction between the *cathedra* and the throne is clearly marked in the service used in the consecration of the Pope (when he is already a Bishop): before he is placed in the Papal seat (for which purpose, as I shall presently show, this chair would seem to have been at one time used) the senior of the Cardinal Bishops offers a prayer in these words: "*Deus qui Apostolum tuum Petrum inter ceteros apostolos primum tenere voluisti . . . respice quesumus propitius hunc famulum tuum N. quem de humili cathedra violenter sublimatum in thronum ejusdem apostolorum principis sublimamus.*" (Marcellus, Rituum Eccles. &c. libri tres, pag. xv. Ven. 1616).

dency to change, and we have but very few examples of the eighth or ninth century with which we can make comparison. If the series of such monuments were more complete, we might probably find many other instances of like thrones.

An instance of the use of two discs for capitals, such as appears in those of the small pilasters at the back of this chair, will be found in the mosaics of the church of St. George at Thessalonica, a work probably of the fifth century. (See Texier and Pullen, *Byzantine Architecture*, pl. xxx.)

That it should have been impossible to obtain drawings on a large scale or casts of any portion of the carved bands is the more to be regretted as an accurate knowledge of their character of design and manner of execution would have been a valuable addition to the history of the progress of art in the ninth century, and would have thrown light on the interesting question, whether this throne was the work of an Italian or of a Byzantine artist. We should naturally look to the photographs as supplying the want of large and careful drawings, but these were made under circumstances so unfavourable that in the negative there was great want of accurate definition, and this in some, if not in all, cases would seem to have been supplied in a very clumsy and inaccurate manner by hand. The drawings by Scardovelli, therefore (Plates XLI. and XLII.), no doubt, furnish us with the most accurate representations at present attainable. Even, however, with the imperfect means of information before us, it may be worth while to make some comparison between this and other works of the same period, accompanying it with a few observations on the history of art in Western and in Eastern Europe.

In and after the time of Constantine, art in Italy, and especially in Rome, would appear to have declined with extreme rapidity; the sculptures which can hardly be said to *decorate* the arch of that Emperor, bad in style as they are, are soon outdone in badness, and most of the ivory diptychs of the Western Consuls of the fifth and sixth centuries may not unfairly be called barbarous; the diptych now at Monza, on which King David and Pope Gregory the Great are represented, and which is probably of the age of the latter personage, exhibits a still lower decline in art; the utter feebleness of design is matched by the wretched execution. Examples of any attempt, however humble, at art or even decoration in sculpture which can be attributed to a purely Western source in the seventh or eighth centuries are scarcely to be found;¹ but in the beginning of the ninth we have at Rome some unquestionably authentic examples of the state of the art of marble cutting for decorative purposes, specially in the doorway of the chapel of St. Zeno, attached to the church of Sta. Prassede; here, however, as in other contemporaneous works at Rome, the artist has not attempted anything higher than interlacing patterns of knotwork (precisely like those found on very early crosses and tombstones in this country), very feebly and irregularly executed. A nearly contemporaneous attempt at a representation of the human figure now lying in the Coliseum at Rome (engraved in the *Archæologia*, vol. xl. pl. xiv. fig. 4) is utterly barbarous. The ivory diptych preserved in the Christian Museum in the Vatican, and known as the "diptychon Rambonense," from the convent to which it belonged, which dates from the ninth century (v. Gori, *Thes. Vet. Dipt.* vol. iii. pl. 22), exhibits a like style of ornament, and almost equally wretched drawing and execution.

The famous "Bibbia di San Paolo," presented by Charles the Bald to the church of S. Paolo fuor-le-mura at Rome, shows for the most part ornaments of the same nature as the contemporary sculpture, made up of knot and plaited work. There are it is true some bands of foliage copied either from antique sculpture or earlier manuscripts, but

¹ Two fronts of altars in the church of S. Stefano in Bologna may be attributed with probability to the time of King Luitprand (A.D. 712-744). They bear carvings of a lion and other animals in a most barbarous style.

it would seem nothing either in the drawing of the figures or of the ornamental borders which shows such artistic ability as the ivory carvings of the chair would appear to evince.

The history of art at Byzantium was different. There art was fostered by a luxurious and wealthy Court and nobility, and never fell so low as in Italy. The art of Persia and India had doubtless an influence on that of the Imperial City, and we may probably attribute to an Eastern origin that delicate manipulation and tendency to minute ornament which mark Byzantine works even in an early period, and which in later times, when the classical traditions had been almost lost, became its distinguishing characteristics. Until the period of the iconoclast Emperor, Leo the Isaurian (A.D. 717), Byzantine art followed, with no doubt gradually diminishing power, the traditions of the great periods of art kept alive by the multitude of works of the best artists of Greece and Rome with which the city was filled, and, as I shall have occasion to notice (Appendix III.), even in the eleventh and twelfth centuries those influences had not altogether lost their power.

An examination of the diptychs of the Eastern Consuls, as of Anastatius, Consul A.D. 517, will show how much superior the ivory carvers of Constantinople were to their fellow craftsmen of Rome in the sixth century, and, although from the time that the giving of diptychs by the consuls ceased to be practised, until a much later period, it becomes difficult to cite examples of ivory carving of Byzantine origin the dates of which can be well authenticated, the evidence of MSS., of coins, and of buildings, can leave no doubt but that art was in a far better state between A.D. 400 and A.D. 800 in Constantinople than in Rome.

If the ivory *cathedra* of Archbishop Maximianus of Ravenna, a contemporary of Justinian, was made in that city, the fact may, with all probability, be attributed to the close connection between the Exarchate and the Imperial city. The carvings on that chair, although roughly executed, are by no means without power, and in fact show a good deal of vigour and expression.

When therefore the iconoclastic persecution raged at Constantinople it is not at all unlikely that many artists of considerable power found their way to Rome, and they probably largely contributed to that revival of art which took place in Italy, and still more in Germany, under the influence of the Carolingian emperors.

That during or shortly after the period of Charles the Bald Western artists attained considerable eminence in the art of ivory carving is shown, among other examples, by the tablets preserved in the library of St. Gall ascribed to Tuotilo, a monk of the convent there, who died A.D. 912. These¹ exhibit scrolls of considerable elegance and freedom, intermixed with figures of men and animals. These last, and particularly the human figures, seem however to evince less artistic ability than the corresponding representations on the *Cathedra Petri*. It may however easily be that these last were executed by one of the immigrants from Constantinople; so that we have here the work of the master, and in Tuotilo's that of the disciple. Carving in ivory is, it must be borne in mind, an art in which from the nature of the material it is far less difficult to attain a certain proficiency than in that of sculpture in marble; we accordingly, when comparing works of the same period in marble and in ivory, often find that those in the latter material show much greater mastery and even better art. Ivory moreover has, whenever procurable, been largely used as a material for minor ornamental purposes, and a school, or at least a guild, of workers in ivory probably always existed in Rome. We

¹ One is engraved by Otto, *Handbuch der Kunst-Archäologie*, p. 185.

can easily understand that any member of such a guild gifted by nature with unusual feeling for what is beautiful would be tempted to imitate those remains of ancient sculpture which must then, as now, have abounded in Rome, and can believe that such imitation might occasionally have been attempted with a considerable amount of success. No sufficient reason against the supposition that this throne was not made in Rome, but brought from the East, appears however to exist. Its admittedly Byzantine form and structural ornamentation, and the probability that Byzantine artists were concerned in the carving of its decorations, are in favour of its Eastern origin; a tradition indeed existed that it was properly the *cathedra* of Antioch, and was brought from thence. (See Appendix IV.) The free flowing style of the scrolls of foliage, it is true, differs in some degree from the neatness and stiffness which characterize the Byzantine work of the post-iconoclastic period; but on the *cathedra* of Ravenna of the sixth century bands of scrolls of foliage inclosing animal figures are to be found, and bands of free flowing foliage are to be seen on the reliquary of the Holy Cross at Cortona (if we may trust the plate given by Gori, *Thes. Vet. Dipt.* vol. iii. plate xviii.), which probably dates from the time of the Emperor Nicephorus Phocas, A.D. 963-969.

The fact that in the Imperial bust which appears in the centre of the back an intended portrait of Charles the Bald is recognised cannot be admitted to prove that the carving *must* have been made in Italy, for it is quite conceivable that a sufficiently accurate likeness of the Emperor should have been sent to the city where the throne was constructed. In Constantinople in the same century the art of painting was cultivated with sufficient success to allow of individual portraiture; of this the effigy of Basil the Macedonian, A.D. 867-886 (engraved from a no doubt contemporary manuscript in the library of St. Mark at Venice, by d'Agincourt, *Peinture*, pl. lxvii., and by Labarte, *Hist. des Arts Industriels*, Album, pl. lxxxv.) in which there is obviously an attempt, probably not an unsuccessful one, at portraiture, is a sufficient proof.

One point which has an important bearing on the question of origin, and must therefore not be passed over, is that of the material of which the chair is composed. This is asserted by Cavaliere De Rossi to be "a blackish (*nerastro*) wood, acacia." By acacia, De Rossi probably means the *mimosa nilotica* or some other species of the same family, for the tree usually called acacia in England and on the continent of Europe is a native of America, the *robinia pseudo-acacia*. The wood of the *mimosa nilotica* and that of some allied species is hard and dark, and, being almost the only hard wood obtainable in Egypt, is much used there for all purposes for which strength is required. But it is difficult to see why it should have been brought into Italy, a country abounding in the oak, the olive, and the walnut, and the fact that it is the material (if it be really so) would seem to concur with the other circumstances stated above in pointing to some Eastern city as the place where the chair was constructed.

It is of course evident that if the ninth century be the real date of the *Cathedra Petri*, the allusions which may have been made at an earlier time to such a monument can have no reference to that now existing; those of later date, which have been already quoted, no doubt have. Cavaliere De Rossi has, however, suggested that, though the chair proper be of the ninth century, the pieces of oak external to it may be relics of the earlier chair; and he might have supported this hypothesis by bringing forward mention of the plunder of the Vatican basilica by the Saracens in A.D. 846, when the earlier chair was probably stripped of whatever rich decorations it may have had, and broken to pieces amid the wreck and devastation of the church.

It is easy to believe that the fragments, which, being but wood, would not have been carried off as plunder, and as there is no record that fire was set to the building are not

likely to have been burnt, would have been gathered up and reverently preserved. If such were the case, what more likely than that, in a later age, when the throne of the Emperor had been converted into the *cathedra* of the Bishop, these venerated fragments should have been attached to it?

In opposition to this hypothesis, it must however be stated—1st, that the pieces have no appearance, so far as can be judged from the photographs, of having constituted a chair, but, on the contrary, seem just such as would be added to strengthen an already existing chair, *e.g.* there is a large upright piece at the back, very useful as supporting the pediment, but quite out of place for any other purpose. 2ndly, that the pieces so correspond with those of the throne, that we must suppose that one of the two sets of pieces must have been made to fit the other, an evidently improbable supposition, if we adopt Cavaliere De Rossi's views; and 3rdly, that it is clear that no tradition as to the origin of these pieces of oak existed in the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries, for Torrigio (*Della Basilica di S. Pietro*, cap. 21, as quoted by Phœbeus, p. lxviii.) speaks of them as "alcuni legni," some pieces of wood, with which and bands of iron, he says, the chair was girt. Fontana speaks of them as "riporti," pieces fastened on, doubtless in order to strengthen the weak fabric. Phœbeus also, the historian of the chair, considers it, and not the pieces, to be the genuine *Cathedra Petri*; and Scardovelli in his drawings has left them out altogether. One fact should however be referred to, which in some degree supports Cavaliere De Rossi's hypothesis, *viz.* : that he states that some pieces of the "armatura," which were wanting, have been supplied by pieces of the same wood as the chair, *i.e.* acacia. This goes some way to show that the chair is more modern than the "armatura," but of course may be explained in various and obvious ways.

Whatever however may be the true history of these pieces of oak, some observations on Cavaliere De Rossi's citations of authorities bearing on the early history of the *Cathedra Petri* seem to be required in order that the whole subject should be fairly placed before the reader; and the first notices which require consideration are those cited by Phœbeus and De Rossi from Tertullian and Optatus. Although the Cavaliere De Rossi has deemed it best to take his point of departure from the sixth century, and to carry his chain of authorities upwards, it may perhaps be more convenient to take them in the order of date, and to begin with Tertullian, the earliest authority adduced by him.

When the whole passage cited is examined, it will be seen that it runs thus—
 "Percurre ecclesias apostolicas apud quas ipsæ adhuc cathedræ apostolorum suis locis president, apud quas ipsæ authenticæ literæ eorum recitantur, sonantes vocem et representantes faciem uniuscujusque. Proxime est tibi Achaia, habes Corinthum, si non longe es a Macedonia habes Philippos, habes Thessalonicenses, si potes in Asiam tendere habes Ephesum, si autem Italiæ adjaces habes Romam." (*De Præscript.* cap. xxxvi.)

It is clear from this that if Tertullian meant to assert the existence of the material chair of St. Peter at Rome, he also meant to assert the same material existence of the chairs of the Apostles who founded the Churches of Corinth, Philippi, Thessalonica, and Ephesus. The improbability that he did so is sufficiently obvious, and the opinion expressed by the learned Rigault in his note on the passage, or a modification of it, will probably be adopted by most. Rigault, after stating that some have interpreted the passage as alleging the existence of material *cathedræ* in the several churches, thus expresses himself: "Sed verius mea quidem sententia fuerit cathedras apostolorum dici principales ecclesias, ab ipsis videlicet apostolis constitutas, quæ adhuc ætate Tertulliani suis locis præsidebant tanquam aliarum matrices."

The modification of this opinion, which may, perhaps, be preferred, is, that by *cathedra* should be understood the episcopal function, dignity, and office, or, as

L'Aubespine, Bishop of Orleans, when commenting on like passages in the treatise of Optatus of Milevi, *De Schismate Donatistarum* (lib. ii. cap. 2), expresses it, "Potestas clavium et missio;" or as Du Pin, in a note on lib. i. c. x. of the same treatise, puts it, "Cathedra seu sedes episcopalis est auctoritas suprema regendæ plebis vi sacerdotii." The *cathedra* would be the natural and appropriate symbol of the function; the word throne is in everyday use in a like sense. That *cathedra* was habitually used in this sense by Optatus is clear, for in lib. i. c. x. of the treatise above-named, he speaks of the bishopric of Carthage as the "*cathedra Petri vel Cypriani*," and says that the Donatist Bishop sat in the *cathedra* of Majorinus, which had no origin before the time of Majorinus, and in lib. ii. c. ii., speaking of the church Catholic, he says that it had five endowments (*dotēs*), the first of which was the *cathedra*, the second the *angelus* (or *annulus*),¹ and goes on to argue that the only *cathedra* was that of Peter, denies to the other Apostles separate (*singulæ*) *cathedræ*, blaming as a schismatic and sinner him who should set up another *cathedra* against the special and peculiar (*singularem*) *cathedra* of the head of all the Apostles. He continues, cap. iii., "Ergo Cathedram unicam quæ est prima de dotibus sedit prior Petrus." After this follows the passage in which the succession of the Bishops of Rome is stated down to St. Siricius, then Pope, the latter part of which is quoted by De Rossi. It is evident that Optatus here speaks, not of any material chair, but of the episcopal office.

The sounder conclusion would therefore appear to be that neither Tertullian nor Optatus meant to assert the existence of a material *cathedra Petri*, and nothing seems to be proved by the passages quoted from Tertullian and Optatus which really bears upon the matter in hand. The passages quoted from the anonymous poem against Marcion, and from St. Cyprian, when read by the light thrown on them by the passages which I have quoted from Tertullian and Optatus, will, I think, be deemed equally inconclusive. The inscriptions placed by Pope Damasus (366-384), and his successor, Siricius (384-398), in the baptistery of the Vatican will probably be deemed sufficient evidence that, in their time, an episcopal chair known as the *sedes Petri*, or *sedes apostolica*, stood there, but it is evident that such expressions were not at that time meant to imply that the chair was the identical chair in which St. Peter himself had sat. The testimony of Ennodius clearly proves that in the sixth century a *sedes gestatoria* was in the same place, but nothing beyond this.

With the utmost respect for the opinion of so distinguished an archæologist as Cavaliere De Rossi, it seems inevitable that we must come to the conclusion that no cogent evidence has as yet been brought forward to prove that even as late as the sixth century any chair existed in Rome which was reputed to be the identical *cathedra* occupied by St. Peter. It is very easy to understand how the chair occupied by the Bishop of Rome, being spoken of as the *Cathedra Petri* in the same manner as we constantly speak of the throne of Charles the Great, of Alfred, or of any other distinguished ruler, came in the darker ages to be supposed to be the real material chair in which the Apostle had sat. This process would have been facilitated if the suggestion made by Cavaliere De Rossi, that the rough pieces attached to the exterior of the chair are in reality fragments of the earlier *sella gestatoria*, be well founded.

¹ The others, according to Du Pin, were "spiritus, fons, sigillum."

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX I.

EXTRACTS FROM A DISSERTATION BY CAVALIERE G. B. DE ROSSI, HON. F.S.A.
IN HIS BULLETINO DI ARCHEOLOGIA CRISTIANA, 1867.

Descrizione della Cattedra Vaticana.

Tutti sanno la favoletta divulgata da lady Morgan, la quale die' occasione all' egregio scritto del Wiseman elegantemente volto nella nostra favella dall' Eminentissimo Cardinale de Luca. Di quella menzogna fa oggi giustizia il monumento; ed ognuno può vedere se esso è una sedia orientale con l'araba epigrafe della professione di fede maomettana. Un' altra osservazione però è di molto maggiore importanza. Era noto la cattedra vaticana avere incrostature di avorii intarsiati d' oro; nelle quali sono effigiate le imprese d' Ercole. Il Febeo dubitò, che quelle incrostature fossero d'età posteriore: il Wiseman, non avendo potuto esaminare il monumento, credette meglio accettare, che sieno primitive e contemporanee dell' apostolica età. Su questa base svolgendo le congetture del Febeo osservò, che i prischi fedeli non rare volte adoperarono monumenti d' arte pagana e di pagane immagini adorni; che s. Pietro facilmente trovò quella sedia nella casa di Pudente il senatore, le curuli senatorie solendo essere eburnee; che ai tempi appunto di Claudio cominciò l'uso delle selle gestatorie, e di questa specie è la vaticana; che in fine la squisitezza degli intagli bene s'addice al secolo floridissimo d' Augusto e dei primi Cesari. Così ragionava il dotto Wiseman per congettura e sulle relazioni del Febeo, non avendo egli potuto esaminare il seggio medesimo. La vista del quale e l'esame, che mi è stato concesso di farne, mi hanno indotto in altra sentenza. La sedia è composta di legni e di parti diverse.¹ I quattro piedi a foglia di pilastri quadrati, le aste orizzontali, che legano quei piedi, e le due aste del dorsale sono di quercia giallastra, corrosa dal tempo e solcata dalla mano dell' uomo per trarne schegge e reliquie. In questi pilastri sono infissi gli anelli per rendere gestatoria la sedia, quale in fatti Ennodio la chiama. Niun ornato d'avorio copre coteste parti. Lo spazio però tra i due piedi anteriori della sedia, le due simili facce laterali, ed il dorsale hanno un ornato e forza d'altro legno nerastro, d'acacia, poco tocco da mani avidi di scheggiarlo in reliquie. Questo è un primo indizio, che ci fa distinguere la diversa origine ed età delle parti intagliate in legni diversi; le più antiche corrose dal tempo e dal pio desiderio di averne qualche particella, le seconde più integre. Decisivo poi è l'indizio fornito dallo stile architettonico. Le facce laterali, oggi distrutte, rappresentavano archi sorretti da pilastri sormontati da goffi capitelli; il dorsale è effigiato a timpano triangolare sopra un portico d'archi simile ai predetti. Cotesta architettura è dello stile dei secoli cristiani; e niun archeologo classico potrà attribuirla ai tempi di Claudio. Gli ornati poi di avorio sono di due specie: liste con rabeschi, che corrono lungo i margini della faccia principale del dorsale e del timpano; e lastre compartite in quadretti, che coprono tutto il telaio tra i due piedi anteriori. Le liste sono intagliate a rilievo; le lastre a graffito con lamine d'oro dentro gli incavi. I rabeschi a rilievo sono gravi, e mi sembrano lavoro più recente del secolo quinto; le imprese d'Ercole e le immagini di vari mostri graffite le stimo più antiche, certamente però di tempo assai posteriore al secolo di Augusto. Questo è il frutto raccolto da un primo esame assai breve e fatto in condizioni difficili ed incommode. Dopo tornato allo studio del monumento, potrò parlarne con più diligente precisione. Ciò nulla ostante le seconde cure non muteranno sostanzialmente le osservazioni accennate, e sulle quali m'accingo a ragionare.

Queste osservazioni appianano le difficoltà del credere la cattedra oggi venerata nel Vaticano identica con quella, che in tanto onore quivi tennero i prischi fedeli e i romani pontefici dei primi secoli. Circa l'architettura e l'arte del dorsale e degli altri ornamenti di cotesta sedia gli archeologi non consentiranno ad attribuirle ai tempi di s. Pietro, nè ad una curule senatoria dei tempi di Claudio. Or bene appunto quegli ornamenti sono in materia diversa da quella delle parti più vetuste, dalle quali principalmente furono tolte le particelle ricordate anche nell' indice compilato da Nicola Signorili ai tempi di Martino V. Quivi nel catalogo delle reliquie serbate in s. Lorenzo in Damaso è

¹ Il disegno divulgato dal Torrigio e ripetuto poi dai Bellairisti (*Acta SS. T. v. Junii*, p. 457), e quello del Febeo ripetuto dal Wiseman danno un' idea sufficiente dell' aspetto generale della cattedra nella forma, che ora essa ha. Ma delle parti diverse, di che essa è composta, da quei disegni non si ha indizio veruno. Gli archi ornamentali delle facce laterali delineati dal Torrigio e dal Febeo ora più non esistono, ma se ne vedono gli incastri.

segnato: *de Cathedra s. Petri*.¹ Le profane immagini poi delle imprese d'Ercole ottimamente s'addicono ad avorii incrostati nei secoli cristiani per adornare il sacro monumento. Imperocchè è notissimo, che le sculture profane tolte dai ditirici e da ogni maniera di suppellettili antiche fino dal più alto medio evo, furono tenute in sommo pregio, e adoperate come materia preziosa a coprire evangeliarî, reliquiari ed altri sacri arnesi, senza fare caso veruno delle immagini sopra quegli avorii effigiate. Non così nei primi tre secoli, quando ferreva la lotta tra il paganesimo ed il cristianesimo. Nelle romane catacombe osserviamo, sui marmi quivi adoperati, essere state sovente cancellate ed abolite collo scalpello le sculture ritratti immagini del ciclo idolatrico, al quale spetta Ercole ed il suo mito. Leonde mi sarebbe sembrato alquanto strano, che in una cattedra sì veneranda fossero stati lasciati intatti e visibili i graffiti delle erculee imprese. Ora cesso ogni meraviglia o stranezza, considerando che quelle eburnee lastre non coprono il legno più antico; anzi alcune tra esse sono collocate a rovescio e presentano le immagini capovolte.

Cotosta sedia per non interrotto, pubblico e solenne culto nella vaticana basilica è in possesso del titolo della cattedra famosa, che nei primi secoli fu pegno e segno visibile dell' apostolica origine della chiesa romana dedotta da Pietro. L'intronizzazione, che su quella cattedra per molti secoli si fece d'ogni nuovo pontefice, e la festa annua del 23 di febbrajo, nella quale il pontefice su quella cattedra sedeva, dimostrano quanto irragionevole e storicamente improbabile sarebbe il supporre, che una nuova sedia sia stata sostituita all'antica, ed abbia usurpato il titolo di quella, che Damaso pose nel battistero. D'altra parte Ennodio testifica, che la sedia apostolica conservata in quel damasiano edificio era una *sella gestatoria*; perciò non cattedra di pietra, ma di legno e portatile a spalla per travicelli intromessi in anelli infissi nelle aste laterali. Tale è appunto la sedia, che il Vaticano anch' oggi conserva; non nelle parti, i cui ornati all' età di Ennodio medesimo sembrano posteriori, ma nelle semplici e povere aste d'altro legno tutto corroso. Queste osservazioni congiunte alle storiche testimonianze sopra recitate a chi non abbia l'animo preoccupato da opinione contraria sembreranno assai gravi e persuasive. (*Bullettino*, §c. Anno 5, p. 36.)

Appendice alla descrizione della Cattedra Vaticana.

Dopo stampato il precedente ragionamento ho potuto esaminare con ogni cura e da ogni lato la cattedra vaticana. Per agevolare l'intelligenza dell'esame fatto sarebbe opportuno un disegno; ma la pubblicazione di questi fogli, che è già ritardata, non mi permette di attendere il tempo necessario a prepararne la delineazione. Mi contenterò adunque delle seguenti avvertenze. Le parti della cattedra intagliate in legno d'acacia e adornate di liste eburnee scolte a rilievo costituiscono tutto l'interno di essa e sono una vera sedia di stile bizantino. Le lastre d'avorio, sulle quali sono incavate le figure delle erculee imprese, coprono il telaio anteriore e non furono fatte per esso, ma ad esso applicate. Le liste scolpite a rilievi sono adattate e proprie ad ogni membro dell'architettura della sedia; e non le posso stimare più antiche e adoperate prima ad altro uso. Nei rabeschi di quelle sculture sono effigiate combattimenti di animali, di centauri, di uomini; e nel mezzo della fascia orizzontale del timpano, nel luogo cioè più degno e centrale, è ritratto il busto d'un imperatore coronato stringente colla destra lo scettro, che è rotto, colla sinistra il globo; ha sul volto i soli mustacci senza barba: forse è un Carlo magno o uno dei primi successori di lui. Due angeli, uno per parte, gli offrono ciascuno una corona; altri due angeli seggono nella stessa guisa portando ciascuno una palma. L'arte delle sculture eburnee e dei rabeschi mi sembra benissimo convenire all' età del rinnovato impero occidentale. Questa sedia è stretta e chiusa dentro l'armatura di quercia assai corrosa, che è composta dei quattro pilastri, ossia dei piedi anteriori, dei posteriori coi sostegni del dossale e delle aste orizzontali che legano quegli assi. Alcuni delle aste di quercia mancano e sono state sostituite da altre di acacia; del medesimo legno, cioè, nel quale è tagliata la sedia interiore. Ai pilastri di quercia sono infissi gli anelli di ferro, che rendevano *gestatoria* la sedia. Ognuno intende rimanere fermo quanto sopra ho disputato, le testimonianze storiche certificant, che fino dai secoli più remoti la cattedra di s. Pietro nel Vaticano fu visibile a tutti e in solenni modi da ogni pontefice adoperata, non poter essere applicate alle parti interne della sedia tagliate in acacia e adorno di avorii, ma solo alle esterne e disadorne; alle quali altresì conviene la descrizione fattane da Ennodio nelle due parole *sella gestatoria*. (*Ibid.* p. 47.)

APPENDIX II.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER WRITTEN IN NOVEMBER, 1867, BY PADRE RAFFABE GARRUCCI,
HON. F.S.A., TO W. M. WYLLIE, ESQ., F.S.A.²

Il signore Professor Westwood mi aveva dimandato in una postilla qualche notizia intorno agli avorii della Cattedra di S. Pietro. . . . Tornato adunque in Roma attendeva il momento di poterla studiare a mio agio. L'opportunità mi si presentò per l'esposizione che se ne fece in Chiesa nell' occasione della festa di S. Pietro. Ottenni adunque il favore di recarmi quando la Chiesa era chiusa, cioè di sera, e vi andai con un mio compagno il quale avea amicizia col Canonico Archivista del Capitolo. V'era adunque presente il predetto Canonico con alcuni sacerdoti,

¹ V. Marini, *Papiri*, p. 380.

² A translation of this letter was laid before the Society of Antiquaries of London on December 12th, 1867. See *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2 S. iv. 40.

e un piccol numero di Zuavi pontifici i quali erano incaricati di vegliare la notte a guardia di quella. Il mio compagno scriveva tutto ciò che io diceva, ed io mi sono ancora cavato alcune impronte colla carta di stagno, il che mi riuscì appena per la estrema difficoltà di posto in che era la Cattedra.

Due sono le qualità di lavoro di questi avorii, imperocchè alcuni sono lastre intagliate, altri sono strisce cavate a sottosquadro. Le prime, cioè le lastre, son collocate tutte insieme adunate sul frontale della faccia anteriore della sedia; le strisce sono adattate nel resto, ma ai laterali non vi ha avorio. Bisogna però distinguere nella sedia due sorte di legname; l'esterno che è quercia e forma i quattro piedi e qualche traverso che li congiunge, e l'interno che è, dicono, di acacia, e che serve di armatura ai predetti pezzi di quercia che da essa interna sedia si sostengono, e ne sono supplite le traverse ove mancano. A questa sedia, che diremo interna, appartengono gli archi piantati sulle colonne, il frontoncino col timpano intagliato a giorno. Su questa sedia sono gli avorii, e non sopra i pezzi di quercia. Per contrario dai pezzi di quercia pendono i quattro anelli di ferro, che nelle sedie gestatorie, quale fu questa, servono a introdurre le sbarre onde levarsele in collo.

Comincio adunque a descrivere le lastre di avorio che sono poste insieme sopra la faccia anteriore della sedia. Queste rappresentano le dodici fatiche di Ercole in oltre tanti quadretti, e sei animali fantastici in sei tavolette, in tutto 18 quadretti; ma bisogna notare che una sola volta si vedono uniti in una sola lastra due quadretti, e questa è in conseguenza il doppio più lunga delle altre. L'ordine con che sono poste i quadretti è questo, ed avverto che le tavolette 6 e 11 sono collocate a rovescio:—

1. Ercole combatte Idra.	2. Ercole raggiunge il cervo.	3. Ercole porta il cinghiale.	4. Ercole prende il leone.	5. Ercole addormenta il leone.	6. L'Idra (p. sopra) in un'altra vista (p. sotto) di Ercole.
7. Ercole pugna le stalle di Augia.	8. Ercole prende i cavalli di Diomede.	9. Ercole strascina il Cerbero.	10. Ercole ha tratto il cinto all'Amazzone Ippolita.	11. Ercole strascina il leone dalla caverna.	12. Ercole lutta con Anteo.
13. Testa di Elefante dentante in coda di serpe.	14. Scorpione.	15. Testa di Lepre dentante in coda di serpe.	16. Tritone che cava fuori da una conchiglia due pesci.	—	17. Testa di Uccello a lungo becco dentante in pistone.

I numeri dinotano le tavolette che sono diciassette perchè la tavolette 11 e il doppio più ed ha due rappresentanze come ho detto. Tutte queste tavolette sono di una medesima mano, ed appartennero, a quanto pare, ad un medesimo mobile, donde furono tolte per ornare, a guisa di frontale, la parte anteriore della sedia. Il modo come sono scolpite è il così detto "alla damaschina;" perocchè i contorni delle figure sono segnati con sottil solco, e quei piani di esse che vogliono coprirsi di lamina d'oro sono abbassati quanto richiedeva la grossezza della lamina, che è quanto un ordinario foglio de carta. Quest' oro oggi manca quasi per tutto. Il lavoro mi sembra dell' undicesimo secolo incirca.

Ma quella che io dirò mia scoperta riguarda le strisce di avorio traforate a sottosquadro. Imperocchè nel mezzo di una d'esse, ed è quella propriamente che orna la corda del frontoncino, vidi un busto con corona gigliata tenente nella destra un globo, e nella sinistra un frammento di uno scettro. Queste figure ha il mento raso e vestito di pelli il solo labro superiore. Il suo aspetto è quale ci rappresenta Carlo il Calvo sopra una notissima pagina della Bibbia da lui donata a S. Paolo fuori delle Mura e che si conserva tuttora in quella sacrestia. Egli è vero che in quel primo momento in che mi avvidi del busto, gridai di vedere Carlo Magno,¹ ma dipoi ho considerato che le immagini di Carlo Magno oltre ai mustacci hanno anche la barba, e così vedesi rappresentato nei due Musaii contemporanei di Leone III., dico nel Triclinio, e in S. Susanna, editi da Nicolo Alemanni (*de Lateran. pariet. tav. i. e ix.*)

L'immagine imperiale è nel mezzo, e verso di essa muovono quattro vittorie alate, e due di esse recano a lui corone, due recano palme. In seguito è rappresentata una pugna nella quale i Palatini dell' imperatore ammazzano dei nemici. Sulle altre strisce sono cavati, egualmente a sottosquadro, dei grotteschi, i quali vedonsi esser copiati dall' antico, ma in quella maniera nella quale poteansi fare da un artista anche eccellente del secol nono. Vi ho scorto ancora una striscia che mi è sembrata di restauro ed è di un lavoro inferiore. Un'altra striscia è stato rimessa ma capovolta. Io li descriverò a minuto se avessi davanti un disegno: ma finora non l'ho, e ne anchè ho potuto avere ancora una copia della fotografia che so essersi fatta prima che la Cattedra fosse riposta nella stanzina oscura a molti palmi del suolo, ove si può solo salire coll' ajuto di una scala a pioli, il che non è agevole, e bisogna anche aver ottenuto che si apra il predetto stanzino che è sempre chiuso a chiavi.

¹ Nella prima descrizione che della Cattedra dà il De Rossi (*Bull. Arch.* anno 1887, No. 8) non si parla di questo busto. La mia spiegazione fu data nella ottava dopo la festa di S. Pietro davanti alle persone che ho sopra nominate. Nella seconda descrizione si legge "forse è un Carlo Magno, o uno dei primi successori di lui." Io non mi arresto a Luigi il Buono nè a Lotario, ma a Carlo il Calvo, e senza ambage.

M'importava però far sapere che si io prima non ho pubblicato per le stampe la mia scoperta, ciò fu perchè io sperai sempre d'accompagnarla coi disegni, tanto degli avori che dei musaici e delle pergamene,—e ciò non mi è riuscito finora. Del resto ero io sempre sicuro di poter dimostrare coi testimoni qual fu il mio sentimento al primo vedere la Cattedra, allorché gridai che gli avori non erano anteriori all'epoca di Carlo Magno.

Porgo qui poche parole intorno alla Cattedra. Egli è evidente che d'ora in poi non si dovrà più pensare a selle curule, nè all'epoca di Pudente senatore. Nulladimeno resta vero, verissimo, che con questa sedia di Carlo il Calvo assistono uniti gli avanzi della vera sedia gestatoria che tutta l'antichità senza interruzione alcuna ha riconosciuta e venerata per la Cattedra di S. Pietro. Intorno a ciò legasi il De Rossi, che meglio di tutti, e con ricerche nuove e di molta istruzione, l'ha dimostrato nel *Bullettino d'Archeologia Cristiana*.

APPENDIX III.

ON THE IVORY TABLETS ATTACHED TO THE CHAIR OF ST. PETER.

The tablets in question will be seen to be eighteen in all, of which twelve are carved with the Labours of Hercules and six with figures of constellations.

As these tablets are now placed, they represent, in the first row: 1, the defeat of the Hydra; 2, the taking the Arcadian stag; 3, the carrying off of the Erymanthian boar; 4, the catching of the Cretan bull; 5, the strangling of the Nemean lion. In the second row: 1, the cleansing of the Augean stables; 2, the seizure of the mares of Diomedes; 3, the dragging away of Cerberus from Hades; 4, the killing of Hippolyte the Queen of the Amazons; 5, the taking of the golden apples of the Hesperides; 6, the fight with Antaeus; and on the fifth tablet of the third row the killing of the Stymphalian birds. The sixth tablet of the first row contains a figure which according to Padre Garrucci exhibits the head of a woman and the tail of a serpent; the drawing seems to show a sea-monster. In the third row the first tablet represents a grotesque animal with the head of an elephant and a twisted tail, the second a scorpion, the third an animal with the head and fore-legs of a hare, the fourth a triton issuing from a huge turbaned shell and holding a fish in each hand, and the sixth a fantastic animal having, according to Padre Garrucci, the head of a bird with a long beak, and ending in a long tail.

As has been said above, it is probable that these figures are intended for constellations, the spots upon them standing no doubt for the stars of which they are composed. In only one instance, however, does the number of these spots agree with the proper number of the stars; in that instance, the third panel of the third row, there are seven spots corresponding with the seven stars in the constellation Lepus. One other, the scorpion, is too plainly represented to admit of any doubt, but it is difficult to identify the rest. The triton in the fourth panel of the third row may perhaps stand for Eridanus, often personified as a river-god; while the figure in the sixth panel of the same row bears a rough resemblance to the figure representing Cetus in the manuscript of Aratus, published in the *Archeologia* vol. xxvi. and to that of the whale swallowing Jonah in many works of art of the earlier centuries, e.g. a marble sarcophagus from the catacombs at Rome (d'Agincourt, *Sculpture*, pl. v.). Of the other two, that in the sixth panel of the first row may perhaps stand for Hydus the water-serpent, and that in the first panel of the third row either for the Southern fish (*Iyôô; sêrioc*) or for the Dolphin.

It is difficult to account for the selection of these constellations, but it will be observed that all (if we suppose the last-mentioned to represent the Southern fish) belong to the Southern hemisphere.

Padre Garrucci has remarked that the panels containing the killing of the Stymphalian birds and the gathering of the apples of the Hesperides are of one piece of ivory; there must therefore have been two rows of panels containing each six of the labours of Hercules; and, as the four panels containing the seizure of the mares of Diomedes, the abduction of Cerberus, the figure of Scorpio and that of Lepus are evidently in their original connexion, it seems certain that in the primitive arrangement of these panels there were two rows of the Labours of Hercules and one of Constellations. It is perhaps scarcely worth while to form conjectures as to the nature of the object from which these carvings were taken; they may perhaps have covered one side of a coffer which would have been about 29½ inches long by 18½ high. The panels would appear to measure about 3½ inches square within their exterior border.

These exterior borders are represented in the drawing as if the ornament upon them was produced either by simple incised lines or by a shallow depression.

Of these ornaments there are five or six different patterns; as the panels are now placed these patterns do not correspond, but it will be seen that they would do so if the panels were placed as follows:—

Hercules and the Lion.	Hercules and the Hydra.	Hercules and the Boar.	Hercules and the Stag.	Hercules and the Bull.	Hercules and the Birds.
Hercules in the Stables of Augeus.	Hercules and Antaeus.	Hercules and the Mares of Diomedes	Hercules and Cerberus.	Hercules and Hippolyte.	Hercules in the Garden of the Hesperides.
P. 100.	Hydus.	Serpens.	Lepus.	Eridanus.	Cetus.

This arrangement would place the labours of Hercules in an order not very different from that which they usually occupy. The fetching of the oxen of Geryones, generally reckoned as the tenth labour, is here omitted, and the killing of Antaeus is inserted instead.

¹ He however reverses the position of the subjects.

Padre Garrucci, it will be seen, states that these tablets are "intagliate," and contrasts this method of execution with that of the bands of foliage, which last he says are hollowed "a sottosquadro," i. e. undercut. He afterwards says that the manner in which they are sculptured is the so-called "alla damaschina," which he explains by stating, that a fine line marks the outlines of the figures and that the flat surface of the tablet is so hollowed as to receive a leaf of gold of the thickness of a sheet of paper. Little of this gold, he says, remains. The figures are therefore, it would appear, not in relief at all, but merely made out by incised lines. The "sotil soleo" of which he speaks is probably indicated in the drawing by the dotted lines surrounding most of the figures of the constellations.

Padre Garrucci has stated, that in his opinion these figures date from about the eleventh century, an opinion in which most competent judges will probably agree. They evidently belong to the same school of art as certain caskets and detached pieces of ivory, which are to be found in museums and in the sacristies of some continental churches, all of which are characterized by certain peculiarities and mannerisms. Among these are an exaggerated slenderness of limb, a marked prominence of the knee joints, and a way of rendering the hair by a mass of small knobs. The subjects are generally taken from some mythological story, and some work of classical art, has in many cases, evidently been copied by the ivory carver, but the story is often misunderstood and misrepresented, and the movement of the figures copied with so much exaggeration, as often to become ridiculous; animals are generally represented with great truth and spirit, and in very natural attitudes. The execution is usually remarkably neat and sharp, and the state of preservation of the ivory very good.

Examples of this school are, a casket in the treasury of the Cathedral of Volterra, on which the Labours of Hercules are sculptured; one in possession of Mr. Carrand, with pairs of combatants and wrestlers; a detached piece in the Museo Correr at Venice, on which is Bacchus, in a car, drawn by panthers; a piece at Goodrich Court, on which is the bringing up of Achilles by Chiron the Centaur: but the finest which I have seen is the casket obtained by Mr. John Webb from the Collegiate Church of Veroli, near Rome, now in the South Kensington Museum; on this Europa is represented as about to land, but with the addition that she is pelted with stones by a group of men. Bacchus in a low car drawn by panthers, Bellerophon with Pegasus, and several other subjects are also represented. That these are of Byzantine origin is proved by several circumstances, among them the fact that the same borders of rosettes are often found on caskets with mythological subjects, and on those where the subjects are Biblical or legendary and executed in the well known Byzantine manner. In one instance, a casket in the sacristy of the Cathedral of Lyons, these rosettes are replaced by human heads, some of which bear the characteristic Byzantine headdress with long pendants. On a few pieces some figures are to be found in the dry severe manner which characterizes Byzantine art when used for religious purposes, while others are in a natural quasi-antique style; one example of this is a tablet in the British Museum, in part of which Christ in glory is represented in the usual stiff style, while on one side is a group of boys with somewhat excessive action, and the peculiarities of style which I have described. Another example is the tablet now in the Museum at Berlin (engraved in Gori, *Theat. Dipl. Antiq.* t. iii. App. by Passeri, p. ix.), on which Christ attended by angels is represented in the usual Byzantine style, while below this group are the forty saints (ΟΙ ΑΓΙΟΙ ΤΕΣΣΑΡΑΚΟΝΤΑ) in very natural attitudes, and represented with much truth and skill.

Examples of Byzantine sculpture in marble characterized by the same peculiarities may be found, particularly at St. Mark's in Venice, where bas-reliefs representing St. Theodore and other saints are placed over the piers of the west front. In the same position is a bas-relief of Hercules carrying the Erymanthian bear, which I am much disposed to believe to be also a Byzantine work.

It appears therefore that, while either positive enactment or a sense of what was fitting prescribed that sacred personages should be represented in the stiff attitudes and the dry manner which so strongly characterise the religious art of Byzantium, a totally different treatment was employed in the representation of mythological subjects for secular purposes, and in a few instances the two styles came into juxtaposition. That mythological subjects should have been selected by Byzantine artists is not surprising, when we remember the profusion of antique works of art which existed at Byzantium until its capture by the Crusaders.

To fix the date of such carvings with certainty is not easy, for few Byzantine ivory carvings bear inscriptions or represent historical persons. There is, however, good ground for the belief that the peculiar Byzantine style was not developed until after the iconoclastic period; when in the ninth century artists were again tolerated and encouraged art had as it were to be re-created, the old traditions having been lost, and it does not appear that it was until the eleventh century that the new style attained its greatest perfection. Some carvings in ivory which exhibit much of the characteristic Byzantine stiffness, with far greater incorrectness of drawing and modelling, may be reasonably assigned to the ninth or tenth centuries, the period when the older art was lost, and the later style not yet matured; examples of this peculiar phase of art are the Raising of Lazarus in the British Museum (Gori, *Theat. Dipl. t. iii. tab. xlii.*) and several pieces in the Brera at Milan, on one of which the legend of St. Anianus is represented.

The fine ivory carving in the Bibliothèque Impériale at Paris, on which are represented the Emperor Romanus Diogenes and his wife Eudocia, enables us to judge of the condition of this branch of art in Byzantium in the eleventh century, and this would appear to have been also the culminating period of Byzantine art in general, in enamelling, in illumination of MSS. and perhaps in mosaic. In the tenth and eleventh centuries the old classical myths had among the people doubtless become much altered and added to, as we know to have been the case in Italy during the dark and middle ages. This may account for the strange variations of classical stories which I have alluded to as being occasionally found on these caskets. This branch of our subject may, it is to be feared, be thought to have been treated at too great length; but, as some writers have been disposed to consider the existence

of these classical subjects on this chair as a proof of its very early date, it is important to show that such an opinion does not rest on any secure foundation. This phase of Byzantine art is moreover curious and interesting in itself, and has hitherto been overlooked, many well informed antiquaries having been disposed to consider such carvings as really belonging to the classical period.¹ It does not appear when these tablets were affixed to the chair, but it was before the sixteenth century, as Novidius, who wrote between 1512 and 1550, alludes to them in the 2nd book of his work, entitled *Fest. Sacr.* lib. xii. (Phœbeus, p. 70). At the time when Fontana made his survey of the chair, they were covered by a piece of walnut wood fastened over them, or else had been taken off and preserved elsewhere.

APPENDIX IV.

THAT the chair in question was the *cathedra* occupied by St. Peter, not at Rome, but at Antioch, is positively stated by the author of a book entitled *Mirabilia Roma*, cited by Phœbeus (p. lxxv.) as printed by Marcellus Silber at Rome, in 1511, and this opinion has been adopted by Rocco Bishop of Tagaste, Ambrosius Novidius, Torrigio, and others. No authority earlier than that of this treatise *De Mirabilibus Romæ* is, however, known to exist for the assertion, and it is discredited by Phœbeus. (p. lxxv.) That the chair has unquestionably a Byzantine character may lend some little support to the opinion; but, if we admit that it is correct, we must conclude that Padre Garrucci and the Cavaliere De Rossi are mistaken in their recognition of a Carolingian Emperor in the Imperial effigy, and that the chair is really the *cathedra* of a bishop, and not, as I have endeavoured to show, the throne of an emperor. The opinion may have gained currency from the fact stated by Cavaliere De Rossi (*Bull. di Archeologia Crist. Ann. v.*, No. 3, p. 40) that the martyrologies of as early a date as the eighth century mark the 22nd of February as the feast of the "Cathedra Petri in Antiochia," or "apud Antiochiam," or "qua sedet apud Antiochiam," and that on that day the chair was carried by the canons of St. Peter's to the high altar, as is proved by a bull of Nicholas III. of the year 1279.

APPENDIX V.

THE belief that, besides the chair at the Vatican, another also attributed to St. Peter was preserved at Rome, has been shown by Cavaliere De Rossi, in the paper already referred to, to be a very probable one. One of the ampullæ sent by Gregory the Great to Queen Theodolinda bears the contemporary inscription, "Oleo de sede ubi prius sedet sanctus Petrus," and the same words are found in the papyrus containing a list of the relics which accompanied them. These relics are, however, in the list disposed in topographical groups, and this inscription does not find place among those relating to the Vatican, as e.g. the oil from the sepulchre of St. Peter, but with those of the cemeteries of the Via Salaria Nuova. Here was the catacomb known as the "Cœmeterium Ostrianum," mentioned in very early documents as "ubi Petrus baptizabat," "ad nymphas S. Petri," or "fontis S. Petri," on account of the existence of a spring or reservoir in which St. Peter was believed to have administered baptism. In this catacomb Bosio (*Rom. Sott.* p. 438) discovered a vault, having a large apse richly decorated with stucco and inscriptions in red letters, which were unfortunately illegible. Here De Rossi believes the chair to have stood with the lamp burning before it, from whence the oil was taken. The existence of this second chair may explain why in the most ancient lists of festivals on the 18th January is to be read "dedicatio cathedræ S. Petri Apostoli qua primum Romæ sedet."

APPENDIX VI.

THE story that on the chair there exists an Arabic inscription containing the Mahometan profession of faith has obtained so much currency that it cannot be passed over *sub silentio*.

As told by Lady Morgan (*Italy*, i. 283), it is that Denon was stated to have narrated that when the French occupied Rome (meaning probably in 1806) the chair was examined, and the inscription upon it deciphered.

Cardinal Wiseman wrote, in refutation of this story, a pamphlet which seems to have been originally printed at Rome in 1833, and was afterwards reprinted in the third volume of his collected essays. In this he states that during the French occupation the seals of the repository were never broken, and the foundation of the story is thus at once cut away. He then proceeds to argue that the chair may very probably have been the curule chair of the Senator Pudens, but, as the materials with which he had to work were only those afforded by the writings of Phœbeus, Torrigio, Cancellieri, and others, to state his argument would be but to repeat much of what has been already quoted from those sources in this memoir.

He suggests, what is indeed highly probable, that the origin of the story is the fact that in the church of St. Pietro in Castello, at Venice, is a marble *cathedra*, on the back of which the Mahometan formula of belief is really sculptured. This portion of the *cathedra* is, however, believed to have been formed from a tombstone originally erected in memory of a follower of Mahomet.

¹ I may add, as an additional proof of their real date, that the state of preservation of the examples of works of this class which the writer has examined (upwards of twenty) is far superior to that of any carvings in ivory dating from the first three or four centuries of the Christian era.

PLATES XLIII.—XLVI.

Remarks on ILLUMINATIONS IN SOME IRISH BIBLICAL MANUSCRIPTS. Communicated by the Rev. JAMES HENTHORN TODD, D.D. F.S.A. Senior Fellow of Trinity College, and Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University of Dublin.

WITHIN the last few years the ancient Irish styles of illumination and ornamental writing have been made so familiar to Archæologists by the labours of Mr. Humphreys and of Mr. Digby Wyatt, by the careful fac-similes and drawings of Mr. Westwood,¹ by Dr. Stuart in his *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, and by the publications of Dr. Keller of Zurich, that it is unnecessary to go into the details that some time ago would have been required as to the Art aspect of those beautiful remains of antiquity, the Early Irish Biblical MSS. They are at length beginning to attract the attention not only of lovers of art, but also of the students of biblical learning; and it is greatly to be regretted that the many singularly curious remains of the ancient Latin versions of the Bible (in a great measure peculiar to Ireland) have never been studied as they deserve by the learned in sacred literature. It is remarkable that they exhibit a text which agrees exactly neither with that which is usually regarded as characteristic of the Ante-Hieronymian versions, nor with the recension of St. Jerome. This observation is true of the Psalter as well as of the Gospels. In the book of Armagh, the only complete Irish copy of the New Testament that we possess, the Gospels are in the Hieronymian text, or nearly so, the Epistles and Apocalypse in the Ante-Hieronymian; all of course with the usual amount of various readings. It is surprising that this fact has not attracted the attention of biblical scholars to this valuable manuscript.

I shall endeavour to describe, in their order, the present illustrations of ancient Irish illuminations. I shall speak of them less in their artistic than in their historical point of view, but without excluding all remarks upon them as works of art.

One observation however may be made here inasmuch as it applies to all these illuminations. We see in them the most astonishing skill in drawing the minute interlaced ornament, and in the invention of an inexhaustible variety of patterns of the most exquisite design. But with this we observe also an entire absence of the power of drawing anything in perspective, such as the human face, or hand, or foot; the chair, and the human figure

¹ See his *Palæographia Sacra*, and especially his recent exquisite work, "Fac-similes of the Miniatures and Ornaments of Anglo-Saxon and Irish Manuscripts," Fol. 1868. Mr. Westwood is also the author of a paper, to which those interested in the artistic question may be profitably referred, "On the distinctive Character of the various styles of Ornamentation employed by the early British, Anglo-Saxon, and Irish Artists," published in the *Journal of the Archæological Institute*, vol. x. (1853), also of an article on Celtic Ornament in Owen Jones's "Grammar of Ornament."

sitting upon it. See particularly the page of the Book of Kells representing the Blessed Virgin and Child seated.¹

The artistic defects, as well as the singular perfection, of these ancient illuminations are equally remarkable. The artists could draw only from the plane surface. Their designs were taken not from the round or from the eye, but from the powers of the rule and compass only, in a marvellous variety. In other words, plane geometry, without any knowledge of the rules of perspective, was the measure of their art. But within this limit their accuracy and variety were wonderful. The most minute examination with the most powerful glasses has never detected a misplaced or defective line.²

I must add that I cannot subscribe to Mr. Westwood's not very distinctly expressed opinion that the Irish scribes were indebted to the Anglo-Saxon Church for their skill in penmanship, and that "the source from which Christianity in both islands was derived is still a *questio vexata*." There can be little doubt that the British and Anglo-Saxon bishops and clergy, whom Augustine and the Roman emissaries of Pope Gregory found in the country, and whom they discountenanced and ultimately exterminated, were from the Irish succession, the fruit of the missionary labours of the Irish or Scotie ecclesiastics; and therefore it is no cause of wonder that Bede, as quoted by Mr. Westwood, should have told us that "the early British Church differs in no respect from the Irish." The Irish Church derives its origin from the missionary labours of St. Patrick and his associates in the fifth century. The British Church received its Christianity from Ireland a century or two later. This is, I believe, now admitted by all competent scholars, and no *questio vexata* remains. I do not deny that the Anglo-Saxon school of penmanship soon created characteristics of its own, and that it is now clearly distinguishable from the purely Irish school of illumination; but it is undeniable that the scribes of the early Anglo-Saxon MSS., whenever they are named, are for the most part Irish, and that the whole style of their ornamentation is evidently of Irish or Scotie origin.³

Several things seem to prove incidentally that Ireland was famous in very ancient times

¹ The prominent figures, and the chair upon which they are seated, are given in Westwood's *Palaographia Sacra*, Plate XLIII. (Book of Kells).

² Miss Stokes has said, and there is no one better qualified to speak on the subject, "It is no exaggeration to say, that, as with microscopic works of nature the stronger the magnifying power brought to bear upon them the more their perfection is revealed, so in the illuminations of these MSS. I have never found a single false interlacement, a single uneven curve in the spirals, or the faintest sign of a trembling hand. The intense concentration of mind necessary for the accomplishment of work so minute, where the power of the brain would seem as it were drawn to a needle's point to fulfil its purpose, becomes a pain to contemplate."

³ An eminent judge of antiquarian art, the late Mr. Kemble, in his address to the President and Members of the Royal Irish Academy, delivered in 1857, gives it as his decided opinion that the ornament formed by the divergent spiral, and generally known as "the trumpet-pattern," was peculiar to Celtic art. "If the lines are allowed to diverge," says this learned author, "instead of following one another closely in their windings, they produce that remarkable pattern, which, since a few years, we have been in the habit of calling the trumpet-pattern, and which, from one of its peculiarities, is sometimes called the *thumb-pattern*. When this is represented in a plane surface, in the illuminations of MSS. you have that marvellously beautiful result which is familiar to you in the 'Book of Kells,' and to us in the 'Book of St. Outhbert,' or the 'Durham Book,' in the British Museum; and in the equally beautiful records of Scoto-Keltic devotion and culture in the MSS. of St. Gall in Switzerland." [See Mr. Westwood's exquisite plate of St. Matthew and the monogram of Christ, from the Library of St. Gall, Cod. No. 51, "Fac-similes and Ornaments," &c., Plate 26.] "When, as is often the case in metal, this principle of the spiral line is carried out in *repoussé*—when you have those singularly beautiful curves—more beautiful perhaps in the parts that are not seen than in those that meet the eye, whose beauty is revealed in shadow more than in form—you have a peculiar characteristic, a form of beauty which belongs to no nation but our own, and to no portion of our nation but the Celtic portion. The trumpet-pattern is neither Greek, nor Roman, nor Oriental. There is nothing like it in Etruscan art; there is nothing like it in German or Slavonic art; there is little like it in Gallic or Helvetian art; [but Gallia and Helvetia were Christianised, it should be remembered, by Irish missionaries;] "it is indigenous, gentlemen; the art of those Celtic tribes which forced their way into these islands of the Atlantic, and, somewhat isolated here, developed a peculiar but not the less admirable system of their own." See a remarkable representation of the trumpet-pattern in Stuart's *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, vol. ii. Append. to Pref. p. lxxxii.

for its sacred books. Thus Bede, speaking of the absence of all poisonous animals in Ireland, says that the scrapings of books brought from Ireland, put into water, and administered as a drink to those bitten by serpents, destroy the whole power of the poison.¹ He says also that he had himself witnessed the success of such a cure. This seems to imply that in Bede's time Ireland was famous for remarkable books of so sacred a character that to the very scrapings of their parchment was attributed a power to act as an antidote against the poison of the snakes and venomous reptiles of other countries. And so also the Scandinavian Sagas tell us, that in Iceland, before its occupation by the victims of Harold Harfagr, there were Christian ecclesiastics, called by the Norwegians *Papæ*, who were believed to have come from the West, *i.e.* from Ireland, and who, having been driven out by the new comers in the ninth century, left behind them Irish books, "*ðækor írskar*," bells, pastoral staffs, and other things which proved them to have been Westmen, *i.e.* Irishmen.² The writer adds, that in English books (*f bókum Enskum*) a great increase of intercourse between the two countries is recorded. Here we find the Irish and English books distinguished from each other; and the possession of Irish books spoken of as characteristic of the *Papæ* or missionaries from Ireland. It is most probable that by Irish books the writer did not mean books in the Irish language, but church books in Latin, missals and copies of the Scripture, executed in Ireland, and brought from Ireland by the *Papæ*. It should be remembered also that Ireland in the eighth and ninth centuries was not the barbarous country that some have supposed, and that it afterwards became. From its monasteries and schools of learning at that period emanated that swarm of devoted missionaries to whose labours Europe, for the most part, owes her Christianity and her civilization.³ There dwelt then in her monastic establishments artists of the greatest skill in metal and stonework, as well as in the exquisite penmanship whose remains now excite our wonder. But these arts at the period of which we speak were in their decline; the Scandinavian invasions began at the close of the eighth, and continued to the beginning of the eleventh century. The object of the intruders was at first plunder, and the monasteries, which were the centres of Art, were also the great depositories of treasure. These were repeatedly plundered and burned by the piratical invaders; their books, croziers, reliquaries, silver and golden chalices, processional crosses, and crucifixes became the prey of the pagan barbarians; and it was not until the close of this period, when the purely piratical invasions ceased, and Christianity had gained an incipient power over the foreign settlers, that the Scandinavian plunderers began to repair in some degree the ravages they had committed, by founding the great seaports of Dublin, Waterford, Carlingford, Wexford, Cork, and Limerick, and sowing the seeds of a commercial civilization, to take the place of the ecclesiastical civilization which was in process of being destroyed. The ancient Irish skill in penmanship did not survive these changes,⁴ although it continued in some beauty, shorn of its former splendour, to the middle of the twelfth century,⁵ of which period we also still possess some beautiful specimens of the

¹ Denique vidimus quibusdam a serpente peroussis, rasa folia codicum qui de Hibernia fuerant, et ipsam rasuram, aquæ immixtam ac potui datam, talibus protinus totam vim veneni grassantis, totum inflati corporis absumpsisse, et sedasse tumorem. *Bede Hist. Eccl. I. i.*

² *Landnámabók*, Prolog. p. iii.

³ See Reeves's *Adamnan*, Pref. p. xxii.

⁴ "The mantle of the early illuminators has fallen upon Miss Stokes, who has reproduced, among others, one of the marvellous pages of the Book of Kells with wonderful fidelity." So says Dr. Stuart, "Sculptured Stones," vol. ii. Pref. p. lxxxii. n. Those who examine our Plate XLIII. will not think this language too strong.

⁵ To this date may be referred the book of Hymns now in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. I have already printed a fasciculus of this volume (1856), in which may be seen fac-similes (woodcuts) of the ornamented initial letters of the MS. The copy of this Hymnal at St. Isidore's at Rome, of a somewhat later date, is mentioned by Mr. Westwood, "Fac-similes, &c." p. 88. He calls it a "Psalter," which in the ordinary signification of the word it is not.

skill of our silversmiths. Amongst these may be mentioned the Cross of Cong, and the so-called "Tara Brooch," in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy; the Crozier of Cormac, King and Bishop of Cashel, and the Shrine of St. Mogue, in the collection of the late Dr. Petrie; the Crozier of MacMeic Educain, Bishop of Lismore, in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire; and the Shrine of St. Patrick's Bell,¹ now, with the bell itself, in my own possession.

PLATE XLIII.—*The Monogram in the Book of Kells.*

In almost every manuscript of the Gospels written prior to the twelfth century, the words of St. Matthew (cap. i. 18) which immediately follow the genealogy of our Lord, being regarded as the beginning of the Gospel, are illuminated in a remarkable manner. We have a splendid instance of this in the plate before us,² where an entire page is devoted to the words "CHRISTI AUTEM GENERATIO," the word CHRISTI represented, in Greek characters, by the contraction or monogram XPI, occupying with its ornamental frame-work and other accompaniments the entire page; on the lower margin are the words in continuation "I[for *autem* or *hautem*] GENERATIO," and then on the next page the text proceeds, "SIC ERAT, CUM ESSET" &c.

The Book of Kells, or of Cenannas,⁴ as the place was in old times called, derived its name from the Columban Monastery of Kells, where this MS. was for many years preserved. The town was anciently of considerable importance, the residence at one period of the Kings of Ireland, one of whom, Diarmait MacFergusa Cearbhuil, or Carroll (*regn.* 544—565), is said to have given the site to St. Columba, in reparation for certain injuries done to him or to his monastery by the King.

No mention of it as a place of ecclesiastical importance occurs in our annals until 804, when the community of Hy seem to have sought an asylum there from the invasions of the Danes, and in 807 a religious house was established under the name of *Nova Civitas Columbe-cille in Cenannus*.⁵ From that time it seems to have become the seat of a monastic bishop, with jurisdiction, out of the monastery, over a small district probably identical with the original donation of King Diarmait MacFergusa Cearbhuil.

That the splendid MS. now in the Library of Trinity College Dublin belonged to the church of Kells admits of no question. It was preserved there in the time of Archbishop Usher.⁶ Some leaves, originally blank, and margins of the MS., were used by a scribe of the twelfth century to preserve some ancient Charters,⁷ which had reference to the church of Kells; and under the year 1006 we have the following

¹ This Shrine is the subject of a Memoir, (with Chromo-Lithographic drawings of the Bell and Shrine,) by the Rev. Wm. Reeves, D.D. *London and Belfast*, 1850. Portions of the Shrine are figured by Mr. Westwood (Illustrations, Plate 2.)

² See another remarkable and very beautiful instance from the Codex Aureus of Stockholm: Westwood, "Fac-similes," &c. Plate 2. and in his Plate 26., from Cod. S. Gall, No. 51. See also the Gospels of MacDurnan, Westwood, *Paleogr. Sacra*, Plate 11.

³ Irish scribes frequently prefix *h*, especially to words beginning with a long or accented vowel. This and other peculiarities of the Irish Latin orthography, Zeuss attributes to an imitation of the pronunciation of the Irish language. *Gram. Celt. Pref.* p. xxxi., where see his examples: comp. Reeves, *Adamnan*, *Pref.* p. xvi.

⁴ The word *Cenannus* (originally *Cenn-aras*, from *Cenn*, a head, and the Old Irish *aras*, a house) signifies *Head-abode*. It was afterwards corrupted into *Kenlis* (which signifies *Head-fort*), and (dropping the *n* before *l*) *Kells*. The family of Taylor, whose seat is in the vicinity, has taken the title of *Headfort* in the British, and *Kenlis* in the Irish peerage, from this place. Kells is situated in the county of Meath, barony of Upper Kells; its ancient name was *Dun-chuile-Sibreinne* (Four Masters, A.M. 3991), and the surrounding district was *Magh Sairigh*. See Reeves, *Adamnan*, p. 278.

⁵ The authorities are given by Dr. Reeves, *loc. cit.*

⁶ *Brit. Eccl. Antiq.* c. xv. (Works, vi. 232).

⁷ These Charters have been printed, with translations and notes, by Dr. O'Donovan, in the *Miscellany* of the Irish Archaeological Society, pp. 127—158.



h̄gnerauo

mention of this manuscript, the oldest and, I believe, the only notice of it which occurs in our native Annals. We transcribe it from the Dublin MS. of the Annals of Ulster. It occurs also at the same date in the Annals of the Four Masters.

Soiscéla móir Columáin cille do dubgalt isind aidéi
asind iardom iartarach in daimliace móir Cenannsa, prim-
mind iartair domáin arai in comdaigh doendai. In
Soiscéla sin do fogbail dia fíchet quind ar díb misaib iar
ngait de a oír ocus fot tairis.

The Great Gospel of Columkille was sacrilegiously
stolen¹ in the night from the western sacristy of the
great stone Church of Cenannus, the principal relic of
the western world, for the sake of its unique cover.
This Gospel was found [after two score nights and
two months]² after its gold had been taken from it,
and sods over it.

From this record it appears that in the beginning of the eleventh century this book belonged to the Church of Kells,³ and was called the Great Gospel⁴ of Columkille, either because he was supposed to have written it, or because it belonged to one of the principal monastic establishments of his order in Ireland. The book was then regarded with such veneration as to be deemed worthy of a magnificent *cumhdach*, or cover of gold, or ornamented with gold. It is not certain whether the title of *prim-mind iarthair domhain*, "chief relic, [or precious thing,] of the western world," was intended to be applied to the book or to its golden case; but it is evident that the magnificence and intrinsic value of the cover was very nearly fatal to the still more precious MS. which it contained.⁵ The Gospel of Kells did not perhaps owe the high veneration in which it was held by its possessors in the eleventh century altogether to the exquisite beauty of its penmanship. Such manuscripts were then doubtless more numerous in Ireland, and excited less wonder and admiration, than now. The antiquity of the volume, and its being regarded as the autograph of Columkille, or at least as having been in his possession, are much more likely causes of the high esteem in which it was held. It must have been deposited in its golden case by its guardians of Kells some considerable time before it was stolen from its sanctuary. We have seen that the Columban settlement there is dated about 807, just two centuries before the sacrilegious theft. The monks therefore may have carried with them from Hy this precious relic of their founder, which, if it had belonged to Columba or had been written by him, would have been at that time at least two centuries old.⁶ It was therefore in every point of view

¹ Literally, "blackly stolen."

² The words in brackets are very doubtful. Colgan in his translation of this passage omits them; and there is a great variety in the reading of the MSS. The Dublin Annals of Ulster read *dia fíchet quind*; Dr. O'Connor (*Ann. Ulst.*) reads *dia fíchetan*, and translates *postea* (*Rev. Hib. Scriptt.* iv. p. 297); in his Four Masters he reads *dia fíchet aidhee*, and translates "twenty nights and two months," which is also the reading of Dr. O'Donovan (*Four Masters*, and *Irish Archaeol. Miscell.* p. 127). The *Chron. Scriptorum* (edited by Mr. Hennessy, p. 245, A.D. 1006) reads *dfágait acóin raite*, "was found at the end of a quarter."

³ Dr. O'Connor by a singular mistake confounds the Book of Kells with the Book of Durrow, or *Duir-magh*, a MS. belonging also to a Columban monastery, and said to be in the autograph of the saint. Dr. O'Connor gives a very good fac-simile of a page of this MS., although he speaks of it as the Book of Kells, and mixes up Lluyd's account of the two. See Lluyd, *Archæol. Append.* p. 432 b, voce *Oroid*, p. 435 c, n. 417. Reeves, *Adamnan*, p. 327.

⁴ Could this MS. have been called the Great Gospel in reference to another Lesser Gospel, i.e. lesser in size, which was also an autograph of St. Columba, viz. the Book of Durrow?

⁵ These silver or gold covers or boxes, intended primarily to hold books, bells, &c., were often also made to hold relics or bones of saints, sometimes concealed under the crystals or precious stones with which they were ornamented, and sometimes in receptacles specially made for them within the box. The sacred character thus given to these boxes sometimes protected the MS. within, the superstitious fears of the thief acting as an antidote to his covetousness. The word *mina*, plural *mina*, signifies a precious thing; a thing marked with some sacred sign, figure, or symbol; an oath (because such reliquaries were used in administering oaths). Dr. O'Connor paraphrases the word *prim-mind*, in the above passage, "precipua reliquia occidentalis mundi ad juramenta præstanda fuit ista, contra perjurium hominum." *Rev. Hib. Scriptt.* tom. i. Epist. Nuncup. p. clxxxi.

⁶ St. Columba died 9 June, 597.

well worthy of the golden cover, which we may presume the monks prepared for it, soon after their migration to Cenannas; and of which it has now been deprived for 860 years. In all this there is nothing impossible or incredible. Columba was celebrated during his lifetime as a scribe, and zealous in transcribing the Scriptures,¹ and there is nothing in the handwriting of the volume to prove that it may not have been written in the latter half of the sixth century. Magnus or Manus O'Donnell, Chieftain of Tírconnell, in his *Life of the saint*,² tells us that Columba left behind him three hundred volumes of the Gospels or other sacred books,³ written with his own hand. Many of these, covered with gold or silver and ornamented with precious stones, were extant in O'Donnell's time (circa 1530); the rest were destroyed or carried off during the wars and other disturbances with which Ireland had been so long afflicted.

At the close of the twelfth century we read of a remarkable copy of the Gospels in Ireland, the description of which so exactly agrees with the Book of Kells, that it is difficult to believe they were not one and the same. Giraldus Cambrensis, who gives us a description of this MS., says indeed that he saw it at Kildare; he makes no mention of Kells or of St. Columcille, but connects the history of the book with St. Brigid of Kildare, by whose intercession, he tells us, the scribe obtained by Divine inspiration the skill to copy exactly the pattern of the book which was exhibited to him by an angel.⁴ But it is not impossible that the book which really belonged to the Columban fraternity of Kells may have been in the Church of Kildare in 1183 or 1188, during which period Giraldus collected the materials of his *Topography of Ireland*. It was very common in those days for a monastic community to lend its books to another, and sometimes such books were hired, as it were, or borrowed for a specified time, sometimes on payment of a considerable sum. Giraldus, therefore, may have seen the Book of Kells at Kildare,⁵ and may have supposed it to belong to that Church, the nuns or clergy having attributed all its virtues to their patron saint, and to do her honour before the stranger, having suppressed all mention of St. Columba and of its real owners.

We shall now quote here the description given by Giraldus of the MS. he saw at Kildare, that the reader may see how closely it agrees with the ornamentation of the Book of Kells, of which he can judge for himself from the specimen he has before him in the present Plate, and in those published by Mr. Westwood.⁶

¹ See the Story of St. Finian's Book lent to Columba, and copied without the owner's permission, the curious question raised before the King as to the property of the book, and the remarkable Brehon answer, that as the cow is the owner of the calf, so the book is the owner of the copy made from it. "St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland," p. 106. When it is said that the Book of Kells may have been written by Columba, it is not meant that he was also the artist from whose pen the elaborate ornamentation of the volume proceeded. The scribe and the illuminating artist were seldom the same person; the illuminations were frequently much later than the MS. itself, and there are still to be seen some pages of the Book of Kells where the ornaments of the frame-work are partially sketched in outline, but left unfinished.

² This *Life* was originally written in Irish, in the earlier part of the sixteenth century; it was abridged and put into Latin by the eminent scholar John Colgan, who published it as the *Fifth Life of Columba*, in his *Trias Thaumaturga*, p. 389 *et seq.* The original in Irish, a MS. coeval with the author, is preserved in the Bodleian Library. See Dr. Reeves' Pref. to his edition of *Adamnan*, p. xxxiv. *et seq.*

³ O'Donnell's words, as translated from the original Irish by Colgan, are these, "Trecentos vel Evangeliorum vel alios sacros codices propria manu perscriptos reliquit; quorum multos tegumento aureo vel argenteo ac gemmis oblectatos, ad instar preciosissimarum reliquiarum posteritas ad nostros usque dies asservat et pie veneratur: reliquos bellorum rabies, et temporum injuria absumpsit." Colgan, *Trias Thaum.* p. 438, c. xlii.

⁴ *Topogr. Hib.* Dist. ii. cap. xxxix.

⁵ It is also possible that this precious volume may have been sent to Kildare for greater security. The Annals record that Kells was burned five times during the twelfth century (1138, 1143, 1160, 1166, 1170), and plundered twice (1143, 1176): Whereas Kildare, during the same period, was only burned three times (1138, 1143, 1166), and not plundered even once.

⁶ *Palaeographia Sacra*, and "Fac-similes of the Miniatures and Ornaments, &c." Plates 8, 9, 10, 11, 51.

The words of Giraldus are as follow:—

De Libro miraculose conscripto.

"Inter universe Kildarie miracula,¹ nil mihi miraculosius occurrit, quam liber ille mirandus tempore virginis [Brigide] (ut aiunt) angelo dictante conscriptus. Continet hic liber quatuor Evangeliorum iuxta Ieronimum concordantiam: ubi quot paginae fere sunt tot figurae diversae, varisque coloribus distinctissimae. Hic Malestatis vultum videas divinitus impressum; hinc mysticas Evangelistarum formas: nunc senas, nunc quaternas, nunc binas alas habentes; hinc aquilam, inde vitulum, hinc hominis faciem, inde leonem, aliasque figuras fere infinitas. Quas si superficialiter et usuali more minus acute conspexeris, litura potius videbitur quam ligatura; nec ullam prorem attendes subtilitatem, ubi nihil tamen praeter subtilitatem. Sin autem ad perspicacius intuendum oculorum aciem invitaueris, et longe penitus ad artis arcana transpenetraveris, tam delicatas et subtiles, tam aetatas et artitas, tam nodosas et vinculatim colligatas, tanque recentibus adhuc coloribus illustatas notare poteris intricaturas: ut vere haec omnia potius angelica quam humana diligentia jam asseveraveris esse composita." [Some copies add—] "Haec equidem quanto frequentius et diligentius intueor: semper quasi novis obstupco, semperque magis ac magis admiranda conspicio."

The Book of Kells still begins with the Concordance² of the four Gospels, that is to say, with the Canons of Eusebius, in the usual tabular form, constituting, with the aid of the Ammonian numbers, what we should now call a Harmony of the Gospels. The first canon "in quo quatuor," occupies the reverse of fol. 1 and the first page of fol. 2. It contains those passages of the Gospels, narratives of the same transactions, miracles, parables, discourses, which occur in all the four Gospels: at the head of the page are grouped together the mystical emblems of the evangelists: the pillars separating the Ammonian numbers referring to each evangelist, being ornamented in the usual style of the MS. and well meriting the eulogy of Giraldus "ut vere haec potius angelica quam humana diligentia jam asseveraveris esse composita."

It will be unnecessary however to give here a minute account of the ten Eusebian Canons, as they are well known and are described in most of the "Introductions" to the New Testament and books on Biblical Literature.³ It is evident that when Giraldus Cambrensis spoke of the "Concordantia Evangelistarum secundum Hieronymum," he must have intended the Eusebian Canons which St. Jerome prefixed to his *Divina Bibliotheca*, or corrected edition of the Latin Bible.⁴

It is remarkable that the Book of Kells, as we have said, notwithstanding imperfections, still begins with the Eusebian Canons, ornamented in a manner exactly coinciding with the description which Giraldus has given of the Kildare MS. This fact favours greatly the conjecture that the MS. seen by Giraldus at Kildare and the Book of Kells may be one and the same.

Giraldus alludes to a tradition that the book was written "angelo dictante," which may mean no more than what he says afterwards, that the Codex, on a minute examination, seems to have been the work of angels rather than of men. But it is curious that a legend, recorded in the Annals of Ulster at the year 552, speaks of St. Columba as the possessor of another copy of the Gospels, not written by himself, but which he had

¹ *Topogr. Hib.* Dist. ii. c. 38, p. 123, Dimock's edition.

² He had previously described the bell which was preserved at Kilmactelway, and which required to be adured by a kind of exorcism, and tied to its place, in order to prevent its flying to St. Fhian's Church at Clonard (c. 38); the inextinguishable fire (c. 34); the story of St. Brigid herself taking her turn at watching the fire; the judgments upon men who enter the precincts of the fire, set apart for women only; the tame falcon of Kildare.

³ It is curious that Dr. O'Connor should have taken the word *concordance* here in its modern sense, to denote an index in alphabetical order of the words occurring in Holy Scripture, although he notices the fact that such concordances are not older than the ninth century. *Ier. Hib. Script.* tom. i. Epist. Nunc. p. cxxxvii.

⁴ They will be found very correctly given in Archdeacon Wordsworth's Greek Testament, vol. i.

⁵ St. Hieron. *Opera*, x. p. 671. Ed. Vallarsii, 4to. Venet. 1771.

received from an angel, and which was therefore called the *Angel's Gospel*. The story is this, for which the annalist quotes the authority of the Book of Cuana:—

"Sic in Libro Cuanach inveni, i. Reilei Patraio do tabairt iscrin i cinn tri xx" bliadhain ias netsecht Phatraio la Colum-cille. Tri minna uaisli do faghbail isin adnucal i. a choach, agus soiscela ind aingil, agus cloc in aidechta. Is amlaidh so ro fhoghail in taingil do Cholum-cille inna minna i. in coach do Dhun, agus cloc in aidechta do Armach, agus soiscela in aingil do Colum-cille fein. Is aire do garrar soiscel in aingil de, ar is a laim in aingil arroet Colum-cille he."

"Thus I have found it in the Book of Cuana,¹ viz., that the relics of Patrick were transferred to a shrine at the end of three score years after the death of Patrick, by Columcille. Three noble reliquaries were found in the tomb, viz., his Chalice, and the Gospel of the Angel, and the Bell of the Testament.² It was thus the angel divided to Columcille his reliquaries, viz., the Chalice to Down, and the Bell of the Testament to Armagh, and the Gospel of the Angel to Columcille himself. It was therefore it was called the Gospel of the Angel, because it was from the hand of the angel that Columcille received it."³

There is another legend, of St. Columba having visited Tours, from whence he carried away the book of the Gospels which lay on St. Martin's breast, in his sepulchre. This gospel was afterwards for many years the most venerated reliquary of the church of Derry, but was carried off by the English after the battle of Dunbo, in Dalriada, (A.D. 1182) and has never since been heard of. In the Irish Life of Columba it is called a book of the Gospels; in Colgan's Latin translation he calls it *Missarum Liber*; but Dr. Reeves has shown that the missal and other books used in the Divine service were often called gospels. Other authorities say that this book originally belonged to St. Patrick, who, by a prophetic spirit, bequeathed it to St. Columba, as yet unborn. The book remained until the birth of Columba in the custody of St. Brigid, and ultimately came into the possession of St. Columba, having been brought to him from St. Patrick's tomb by the ministry of angels; the book, by St. Patrick's command, was buried with him in his own tomb, lest it should fall into wrong hands.⁴

In these legends we have evidently the germ and foundation of the account given by Cambrensis, of the book which he saw at Kildare, and which he calls the *Liber miraculose conscriptus*. We find in them the story that St. Columba received the book from the hand of an angel, and that it had previously remained for a time in the hands of St. Brigid. These tales were evidently worked up into the story which seems to have been told to Cambrensis about the Kildare Codex.

To describe in detail the wonderful ornamentation of the page, so admirably portrayed in Plate XLIII. would be a task almost as formidable as that which the artist has so ably accomplished. But some general account of the plan of the letters may be attempted. The first letter, which is the Greek X, is given, not as the St. Andrew's Cross

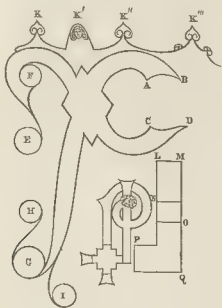
¹ *Cuanach* is the genitive case. This book is frequently quoted in the Annals of Ulster, but is now unknown. O'Donnell in his Life of St. Columba (iii. 20, Tr. Th. p. 434 b.) mentions a Cuana or Cuanach who was the father of St. Baithen, but there is nothing to connect this Cuana with the annalist or historian quoted in the Annals. See the Life of St. Baithen compiled by Colgan, *Acta Sanctorum*, at 17th February.

² Of St. Patrick's Testament, as this is generally interpreted: the Bell here mentioned is supposed to be the same now in my possession, which was an heir-loom of the See of Armagh, and therefore popularly supposed to have been bequeathed by St. Patrick. See Reeves' *Ecc. Antiq.* p. 389 *et seqq.* The Four Masters at 1356 and again at 1425 call it *Clog an uilbaicta Phatraioe*, "the Bell of Patrick's will," and clearly identify it with the bell now known as the Bell of St. Patrick. There is however another bell, in the collection of the late Dr. Petrie, with the inscription PATRIEL. It is of plain bronze, without ornament, and proves that there was a second St. Patrick's Bell of considerable antiquity, but this could not have been the Bell of Armagh. It may possibly have been the bell called *Finn-fuidhech*, or sweet-sounding. O'Curry's Lectures, p. 691.

³ See Reeves, *Adamnan*, p. 326.

⁴ See the authorities quoted by Dr. Reeves, *Adamnan*, p. 326.

formed by two right lines intersecting at an angle of 45°, but on the basis of two curved lines, resembling the long form of the letter S inverted, and one of them much longer than the other.



At each end of the upper part of this letter there are six points, two to each termination, owing to the breadth of its two branches. These points I have marked A, B, C, D, E, F; and in like manner at the extremities of the lower branch of the letter are three points or terminations of the curves, marked G, H, I.

At each of these points the artist has placed a circle formed by the winding round of spiral lines, and within these circles, sometimes three, sometimes four and even more circles, as at E, and G, formed in like manner of spiral lines, and ornamented with various forms of the Celtic pattern. On the upper line, over this predominant letter, the ornamentation rises in four points nearly in a right line, which is probably intended to represent the usual mark of contraction, placed over the contracted word *XPI*. These points, K, K', K'', K''' are decorated with the spiral circles, according to what is known as the trumpet-pattern, of which every part of this page presents beautiful and minute specimens. The second of the four above mentioned points marked K', which is much larger and more prominent than the rest, exhibits the face of a beardless man (or more probably of a woman), the head bare, the hair terminating on each side with spiral locks or ringlets.

The space between the circles F and H is filled with three figures, which seem intended to represent angels. Two of these, under the circle E, are lying upon the ground supporting their bodies in an erect posture, one on the left, and the other on the right elbow. Each has a book, one in the right, and the other in the left hand; and in the other hands an instrument, which is somewhat obscure from the difficulties the artist had to contend with, owing to want of room and the awkward position of the figures, but it is probably the *flabellum*.¹ The arms of the hands holding this instrument are crossed, the left arm of the first figure being under the right arm of the second. The third angel, between E and F, is in an erect posture, his legs concealed under the framework of ornament. He holds a flabellum in each hand, the staves or handles of which seem interlaced with his wings. In the space under the smaller circle F is a figure which is perhaps intended to represent a butterfly with wings elongated to adapt them to the shape of the space so filled.

¹ See Walcott's *Sacred Archaeology in vogue*. Martigny, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Chrétiennes*, in voce.

Western Marches, against the Borderers, is commonly remembered under the name of Belted Will:—

"Belted Will Howard is marching here,
And hot Lord Dacre, with many a spear."

LAY OF THE LAST MINSTREL.

Though Lord William Howard justly deserves to be remembered as the civilizer of the Borderers, he must not be forgotten as a man of letters. Camden, in his *Remains*,¹ styles him "an especial searcher of Antiquities, who equalleth his high parentage with his virtues." He was a great collector of books, and in 1592 published, from a MS. copy in his Library, the *Chronicle of Florence of Worcester*, with a dedication to Lord Burleigh. As a proof of his industry, among the Arundel MSS. is a transcript² in his own handwriting of the "*Liber de fundatione Cœnobii Sancti Jacobi Ap. de Waldena*;" and also a copy, perfected in parts by himself, of Roger Hoveden's *Annals*.³ Mr. Howard, of Corby, in his *Memorials*⁴ of the Howard family, speaks of manuscripts of his writing at Castle Howard, and one at Greystock, on the rights of the Dacre family. In the Cotton⁵ collection of letters are two from Lord William Howard, written in 1608, on sending some stones with Roman inscriptions to Sir Robert Cotton: these inscriptions, it appears from Roscarrock's correspondence with Camden,⁶ had been copied by his lordship, and furnished in the preceding year to that learned antiquary. Roscarrock, who was the author of the spirited verses prefixed to Bossewell's work of *Armory* in 1572, and who was long imprisoned in the Tower during the reign of Elizabeth, as a suspected harbourer of Catholic priests, seems in his old age to have found an asylum at Naworth. The library⁷ of Lord William Howard has been much dispersed, and his copy of *Florence of Worcester* now belongs to Trinity College, Dublin. In the "*Catalogi Librorum Manuscriptorum Angliæ*" is a catalogue of such of Lord William's manuscripts as in 1697 remained in the library of his descendant Charles, Earl of Carlisle; at that time the Howard family were not in possession of this Psalter; they had probably given it to the Widdringtons, with whom they were in alliance.

At the end of the Calendar of our MS. fol. 12. v. occurs "*Liber Nich. Scireburn ex dono Dom. Mariæ Charleton de Cartington An. Do. 1703.*" The name of Sir Nicholas Shireburn is also found in other parts of the MS. Lady Charleton, wife of Sir Edward Charleton, of Hesleyside, in the county of Northumberland, Bart. was daughter and coheir of Sir Edward Widdrington, of Cartington, in the same county, Bart., and mother of Catharine, wife of Sir Nicholas Shireburn of Stonyhurst, in the county of Lancaster, Baronet.

The initials of Sir Nicholas Shireburn are sunk on each side of the cover of the MS. which is bound in calf, with a border richly tooled and gilt, and coloured black and red. The MS. has been injudiciously cut in the binding.

On the death of Mary, Duchess of Norfolk, daughter and sole heir of Sir Nicholas Shireburn, the Louterell Psalter passed with the Shireburn property to the family of Weld, of Lulworth Castle, in Dorsetshire, descended from Elizabeth sister of Sir Nicholas Shireburn; and to Joseph Weld, Esq. the present representative of the house, we are indebted for the use of this singular MS.

I have the honour to be your Lordship's obedient humble servant,

JOHN GAGE ROKEWODE.

Rt. Hon. the EARL OF ABERDEEN, K.T., F.R.S., President.

¹ *Remains*, ed. 1614, p. 138.

² Arundel MSS. Mus. Brit. 29.

³ *Ibid.* 150.

⁴ Page 71.

⁵ Julius C. III. 40. *Vespasian F.* XIII. 322.

⁶ Smith's *Camden's Correspondence*, p. 92.

⁷ A Guide to Naworth and Lanercost, printed at Carlisle by Samuel Jefferson, 1839, contains an account of the printed books formerly a portion of the library at Naworth.

The lower portion of this space, consisting of two parallelograms at right angles to each other at their lower ends, is filled with intertwined serpents, amongst which in the lower horizontal parallelogram are two birds resembling in shape peacocks, the bodies, one white the other yellow, covered with red spots, and the necks red, but having no tails, crests, or other characteristics of the peacock.

This imperfect and necessarily defective description of the Plate may possibly point out to the reader who takes an interest in the subject, some of the more important and curious features of the drawing, in which case the editor will have attained his object. No attempt has been made to classify the several forms of ornament, but it may be observed that the page before us contains almost all the varieties of design to be found in Keltic art. These are usually spoken of as twofold: first, arbitrary or geometrical—of which there occur on the page before us, the divergent pattern, known as the trumpet pattern, the triquetra, the interlaced curved bands, the knot, and the designs formed of right lines; secondly, patterns derived from natural forms—foliage, birds, reptiles, fish, quadrupeds, imaginary or monstrous animals, and man.

Miss Stokes has prepared enlarged drawings of the characteristic and fundamental patterns of the ornaments contained in this Plate. They would form if published, as it is much to be desired they should be, an invaluable alphabet (if we may so say) of Keltic ornament, and would supersede pages of description, which could never be made so clear and intelligible.

PLATE XLIV.—*The Garland of Howth.—Beginning of the Gospel of St. Mark.*

The robed figure which appears in this page is probably intended for St. Mark, though some have supposed it to represent St. Peter, in allusion to the tradition that he assisted in the composition of St. Mark's Gospel. The hands are clasped in prayer, and support a closed book. The figure wears on his head a blue cowl, behind which is a glory or *nimbus*. The waving yellow lines on each side of the lower part of the figure seem intended to indicate that he is kneeling. It has been thought that the portion of the design between these waving lines represents a lectern at which the Saint is kneeling, and that a key can be discerned above this object. The existence, however either of the lectern or of the key is more than doubtful. What has been taken for a lectern is probably only the chasuble falling in folds over the knees of the figure; and he is certainly making no use of the supposed lectern to support his book. The supposed key, again, is most probably nothing more than the rude representation of the folds of the upper garment. The face is beardless, a circumstance which militates against the supposition that the figure is intended to portray St. Peter, for he is generally represented with a large and bushy beard. There is, indeed, no authority for making the figure to be St. Peter, except the mistake (as I believe it to be) about the key. On the whole there is no reason to doubt that the figure represents St. Mark.

The words around this figure are the first words of the Gospel of St. Mark in square uncial characters, viz. :—



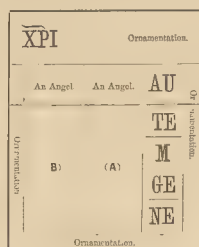
The letters completing the word EUANGELII are on the next page of the MS.; the

figure supposed to represent St. Mark is in the lower space of the N, which I have marked by the letter *m*.

It should be mentioned that Plates XLIV. and XLV. are also drawn by Miss Stokes.

PLATE XLV.—*The Monogram in the Garland of Howth.*

This Plate contains the monogram of the word $\overline{\text{XPI}}$, Matt. i. 18,¹ in Greek letters, with the mark or line of abbreviation over the letters, the remaining words being carried down the right-hand side of the page in uncial characters, thus :²



two angels enveloped in their wings appear in two nearly square spaces under the word $\overline{\text{XPI}}$; and under them in oblong spaces, which I have marked (A) and (B), are two figures in flowing robes. The right-hand figure (A) is beardless, and holds in his right hand what seems a sword,³ and in his left a closed book; on his feet he wears shoes, or buskins, and his feet are raised, the soles parallel and vertical, as if to denote that he was sitting or kneeling on some stool or seat which is concealed under his robes. The other figure has the feet naked, but the legs are crossed, and are evidently not employed in the support of the body, so that this figure also is probably intended to be represented as seated. He is bearded, and holds in his left hand a closed book; the right hand seems raised in the act of benediction. It is curious that the angel over the bearded figure (B) is represented wearing curls, and a heavy head of hair, whilst the angel over the beardless figure has the hair concealed under a sort of cap or cowl; in neither of the angels do the hands or feet appear.

The artistic skill displayed in this MS. is very rude, especially if compared with the exquisite penmanship and delicate ornamentation of the Book of Kells. A remarkable characteristic of it is the predominance of the colours white and green, as in Plate XLV., and of yellow and blue in Plate XLIV.; but it is difficult to say how far the original colours may have changed by age, the yellow becoming more nearly white, and the green more like blue, or *vice versa*. For it should be borne in mind that the colours

¹ See above, p. 4.

² The diagram is about a third of the original in size.

³ The sword is very broad and short, and the blade is ornamented and coloured in red and white, so that some think it doubtful whether it be really a sword. There is a curious story told in the Book of Armagh (quoted in my book, "St. Patrick Apostle of Ireland," p. 509, n. a.): St. Patrick with eight or nine companions, having in their hands "tablets after the manner of Moses" (i. e. like the tables of the Law), had reached some distant part of Ireland. The pagan natives of the country mistook these tablets, or pretended to mistake them, for swords, and to turn the people against the missionaries, the Druids cried out, that Patrick and his company had swords in their hands, swords of iron, not of wood, and were come with murderous intent, to shed blood. The tablets must have been long and narrow to render this mistake plausible. They contained perhaps only the alphabet in a long narrow column of a single letter. Could this be the instrument, looking so like a sword, which appears in the right hand of the figure (A)?

[illegible]



GARLAND OF HOWTH
St. Matthew 18

in the present state of the MS. have almost entirely lost their brilliancy, and in the drawings from which the Plates are taken have been restored in accordance with the indications afforded by certain remains of the original paint, which are still slightly traceable.

"The Garland of Howth" is a copy of the four Gospels, written, as it would seem from its penmanship, early in the seventh century. There is another book, called the *Book of Howth*, which must not be confounded with this; it is now in the Library of the Archbishops of Canterbury at Lambeth, and is a compilation of Anglo-Irish legends and historical records, written in the middle of the sixteenth century. Archbishop Ussher tells us that the book known as the *Garland of Howth*, corruptly¹ so called, was a copy of the Gospels which was preserved down to his own time in the island called *Ireland's Eye*, and anciently *Inis Meic Nessain* (Island of the Sons of Nessan), opposite the mouth of the harbour of Howth, at a distance of less than a mile from the shore. The natives of the island gave this book the name of *Ker-lowre*, i. e. in correct spelling, "CEATHAIR LEABHAIR," or the Quadruple Book, i. e. the Four Gospels. Ussher says, that in his time there was a small clasp or tongue (*lingula*) of silver attached to the book, on which was inscribed the name of S. Talman.² All traces of this clasp have long since disappeared, the book having unfortunately been re-bound about forty years ago, in which operation, performed by an ignorant binder, it suffered considerably.

The island called *Inis Meic Nessain*, "*Insula Filiorum Nessani*," is mentioned by Pope Alexander III.³ in his letter to Saint Laurence O'Toole, Archbishop of Dublin, in 1179. The old name of the island, by which it is called in the *Dinnsenchus*,⁴ was *Inis-Erenn*, translated by the Danes, "*Ireland's I*" (i. e. not *oculus Hiberniæ*, as Archbishop Alan and some other English writers translated it, but *Ireland's Island*).⁵ It seems also to have borne the name of *Inis-Faithleinn* (grassy or lawn island),⁶ and it received the name of *Inis Meic Nessain* when the monastic establishment of those saints was erected there. This was probably about the middle, or not later than the close, of the seventh century.⁷

Ussher quotes what he has said of the history of this island from the *Registrum* of John Alan, Archbishop of Dublin,⁸ a compilation of the sixteenth century still in MS. and preserved among the archives of the see. Archbishop Alan's words are as follow:—

"Supra folio et latere primis (quasi in fine) fit mencio in bulla Alexandri de quadam insula Nessani filiorum qui Oculus Hiberniæ dicitur,⁹ ubi sanctus ille insistebat crebris oracionibus jejuniis et vigiliis; que est una de iis tribus insulis nostri Archiepiscopatus Dubliniensis, vulgariter nuncupata Irlandeseya (licet 1681, cum Domino de Howth super ipsa diu contendebamus), in quo loco apparuit ei¹⁰ malignus spiritus in specie hominis nigerimi, quem prosequabatur quadam indignatione cum ysopo aque benedictæ pleno, ambulans super mare per spatium ferme unius miliaris, imperans diabolo ut intraret rupem in locum qui dicitur Howth, ubi collis ille in vulgari appellatur Powke."¹¹

¹ Corruptly, because it was properly the Book of *Inis Meic Nessain*, and not at all of *Howth*.

² *Brit. Eccles. Antiq. cop. xvii.* (Works, vol. vi. p. 581.) Ussher does not tell us who this S. Talman was, nor can I find his name elsewhere.

³ Ussher, *Sylloge Epistolarum, Epist.* xlviij. (Works, vol. iv. p. 552.)

⁴ The *Dinnsenchus* is an ancient topographical tract still extant in the Irish language, giving the etymology and historical or mythological origin of the names of celebrated places in Ireland. Eren (gen. Erenna) was one of the Queens of the people called Tuatha de Dansan (Damnonii?), early colonists of Ireland. From her Ireland was called Eren, or Erin.

⁵ So also we have the Danish names *Anglesey*, *Dalkay*, *Lambay*, &c. In all these words the termination is the Danish or Scandinavian *ey*, island.

⁶ This is also the present name of an island commonly called *Inishfallen*, in the lower Lake of Killarney.

⁷ Nessan was the grandson of Aedh Cerr, King of Leinster, who died A.D. 591, and great-grandson of Colman, King of Leinster, who died 576. See Colgan, *Acta Sanctorum*, p. 609, where, however, his dates are to be corrected to those here given.

⁸ John Alan, an Englishman, was consecrated Archbishop of Dublin 1528, and was basely murdered 28 July 1554.

⁹ This is the error already noticed of taking *eye* in these words to signify *oculus*, instead of *insula*.

¹⁰ *ei*, id est, Nessano.

¹¹ Powke, the Fock of Shakespeare. In Irish *yuc*, a buck goat, a satyr, the Devil.

rocks, ut videtur extrinsecus ejus ymago in specie lapidea vilissima; unde legitur quod tempore quo fugavit diabolus cecidit in mare liber suus Evangelicorum, dictus ab incolis, *The Karklowre*; postmodum a nautis inventus illesus, proinde habetur hodie inibi in magno precio et veneracione non modica, ita ut vix justus audeat jurare super ipsam propter Dei vindictam ostensam hominibus perjuris in illum.¹

"Hæc ille," adds Ussher, "ex vita Nessani; in qua parva illa insula Oclus (lege Oculus) vocatur, ad orientalem plagam ad sex miliaria de Dublin." It is remarkable that Ussher does not correct the mistake which confounds *eye* an island, with the English *eye*, oculus. Neither does he notice the fact, that the Anglo-Norman lords of Ireland began to dispute with the clergy about their ancient property from the very beginning of the Reformation, as here we see Lord Howth contending with the Archbishop for the possession of Ireland's Eye as early as 1531.

Nessan was descended in the eleventh generation from Cathair Mór, King of Ireland, (A.D. 174—177,) and is said to have had seven sons, all of them saints. Of these, three, Dichull Derg, Munissa, and Neslug, were most celebrated, owing to their having settled on the island to which they gave their name.² And it appears from Archbishop Alan's account that the Book of the Gospels from which the Plates before us were copied was long preserved on the island, and held in great and even superstitious veneration by the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, being used like other similar reliquaries for taking oaths upon, "so that even a righteous and innocent man feared to be sworn upon it." From this account it would seem probable that it was then preserved in some ornamented or precious box or case. Ultimately it found its way to the collection of Archbishop Ussher, and was at length deposited, with his Grace's library, in the safe keeping of its present possessors, the Provost and Senior Fellows of Trinity College, Dublin.

PLATE XLVI.—*The Psalter of Ricemarch.*

This volume originally belonged to the celebrated Dr. William Bedell,³ Bishop of Kilmore, by whom it was at first lent,⁴ and afterwards (as it seems) given, to Archbishop Ussher. It is now preserved amongst the Ussher MSS. in Trinity College, Dublin.

It is a manuscript of the eleventh century, in a beautifully neat and elegantly formed Irish hand, the autograph most probably of Ricemarch, Rhyddmarch, or Rhydderch, Bishop of St. David's, who succeeded his father Sulien or Sulgen in the same see in 1089, and died himself in 1096.⁵ He was the author of a *Life of St. David*, which is still extant, but needs the careful hand of a skilful editor. In it the author tells us expressly that his name was Ricemarchus.⁶ Judging from the character of his handwriting, which is thoroughly Irish, he must have received his ecclesiastical education in Ireland.

The volume begins with the spurious letters of St. Jerome to Chromatius and Heliodorus, followed by the festivals of the Apostles, and the Martyrology attributed to St. Jerome,⁷ beginning, like all the older Martyrologies, at 8 Kal. Jan. or Christmas Day,

¹ *Liber Niger Archiepiscopi Johannis Alani*, fol. lxxx, a (or p. 74 a).

² They were venerated according to the old Calendars of the Irish Church on the 15th of March.

³ The first blank leaf of the MS. p. 2, contains the autograph signature "G. Bedelli." Comp. Ussher, *Religion of Ancient Irish*, chap. i. (Works, iv. 249.)

⁴ See a MS. in Ussher's handwriting, Trinity College, Dublin, D. 3, 16, fol. 20.

⁵ *Annales Eccl. Menec.* apud Wharton, *Angl. Sacra*, part ii. p. 649.

⁶ *Angl. Sacra*, *ibid.* Preface, p. xxvi. Cave, *Hist. Liter.* ii. 156. For some further particulars respecting him, see Mr. Westwood's Notice of the Rhyddmarch Psalter, *Archæologia Cambrensis*, vol. i. p. 117, *et seq.*

⁷ *S. Hieron. Opp. ed. Vallarsi*, tom. xi. p. 475. But the Rhyddmarch MS. differs considerably from the printed text.



Ps 1 Beatus vir



Ps 119 Domine exaudi

which however occurs again at the end as the last day of the year. This part of the volume occupies twenty-four leaves, followed by six leaves containing the Tables of the Martyrology.

Then follows the Psalter, after four leaves of short prefaces, attributed to St. Jerome.

The Plate exhibits two pages of the MS., both drawn by Miss Deane of Dublin. No. 1 is the first verse of Psalm i. ornamented in red, yellow, and green, in the well-known Irish style of birds and serpents, with their bodies interlaced. This page contains the words

BEA
TVS
VIR QVI
NON ABIIT IN
CONSILIO IMPIO
RVM . ET IN VIA
PECCATORVM NON
STETIT . ET . IN CATHE
DRA DERISORVM
NON SEDIT.

The Psalms are divided into three fifties; an ornamented page being prefixed to Psalm i. (*Beatus Vir*) to Psalm li. (*Quid gloriaris in malitia*)¹ and to Psalm ci. (*Domine exaudi orationem meam*). The last of these is represented in No. 2 of the plate, and contains the following words. The colours, as in No. 1, are here also red, yellow, and green; there are likewise some traces of silver on the first word DNE.

DNE
DEXAU
DI ORA
TIONEM MEAM
ET CLAMOR MS
AD TE² VENIAT
N³ ABSCONDAS FACIEM
TUAM A ME IN DIE TRIBU
LATIONIS MEÆ⁴ INCLINA
AD ME AVREM TUAM

At the end of the volume, and written as I think in the hand of the original scribe, are the following verses, which give us some curious additional information about Ricemarch, which name it will be observed is to be pronounced Ri-cē-march, the

¹ The first of them is in No. 2 of the present plate. The second (the first page of Ps. li.) has been drawn by Mr. Westwood, *Palaeograph. Sacr.* (Psalter of Ricemarch) No. 1.

² The Roman Psalter reads *perveniat*.

³ The contraction *n* is for *non*. *Ne avertas*, Rom. Psalt.; *non avertas*, Gallican Psalter.

⁴ *In quaquamque die tribulor*, Rom. and Gall.

e long, and the *e* hard like *k*. These verses, if I mistake not, have never been fully printed before.¹

Filius Isai David. Cui patria bethlem.
 Pastor crismatus ter, miles. Rex. ciitharedus.
 Ymnidicus, psalmista potens. Cantorque, propheta.
 Gesta canit. ¹Populos erudit moribus altior.
 Sponsa² dat thalamo. Cui sponsus pacifer. Uno.
 Terebra contempnit. uultus ad sidera tollit.

Ter quinquagenos decantat i ordine psalmos
 Tres lusti requies commendat mystica moles.
 Pulsas lues uitii resperso sanguine xpi.
 Mane nouo peccata cadent : iustique resurgent
 Inde pereternos conlaudat sps³ annos.

Ebreis nablam custodit littera signis.
 Pro capto quam quisque suo sermone latino.
 Edidit innueros lingua uariante libellos.
 Ebreique iuuat⁴ suffuscat nube latina
 Nā tepefacta ferū dant tertia labra saporem.

Sacer hieronimus ebreo fonte repletus
 Lucidius nudat uerum brouisque ministrat,
 Nāque secunda creas. Nā tertia vascula uitat.

Ergo in nra q̄ dicor gente Ricemarch.
 Sulgeni genitus,⁵ necnos Iohannis adelphus.
 Ithael ascripsit: Studium cui nō⁶ inaurat;
 Psalmodū proceres⁷ depinxit rite Johannes.
 Ille sit inscriptus gemma sub pectore uatis
 Hic capiat hirubin templi pictura sub alis.

It will be observed that two words in the foregoing curious poem are explained in the MS. by a gloss: *altor* in the fourth line is glossed *nutritor*; and in the last line but one *vates* is explained *sacerdos*. I would interpret the two concluding lines thus:—"May he [*i. e.* his name] be inscribed on the jewel which is on the breast of the high priest; may the picture [or representation] of the cherubim of the temple receive him under their wings," *i. e.* into the Holy of Holies.

¹ I have given in Italics the syllables which are contracted in the original MS. Ussher printed the eight verses beginning *Ebreis nablam* and ending *vascula uitat*; of the religion of the ancient Irish, ch. i. Works, iv., p. 249, and Mr. Westwood, in his paper in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, has printed the six first lines, and the six last; but he reads *in* for *m* or *mihī*, and *Ricemarchi* for *Ricemarch*.

² *Sponsam*. Mr. Westwood has printed this word *sponsam*. *Archæol. Cambrensis*, vol. i. p. 121.

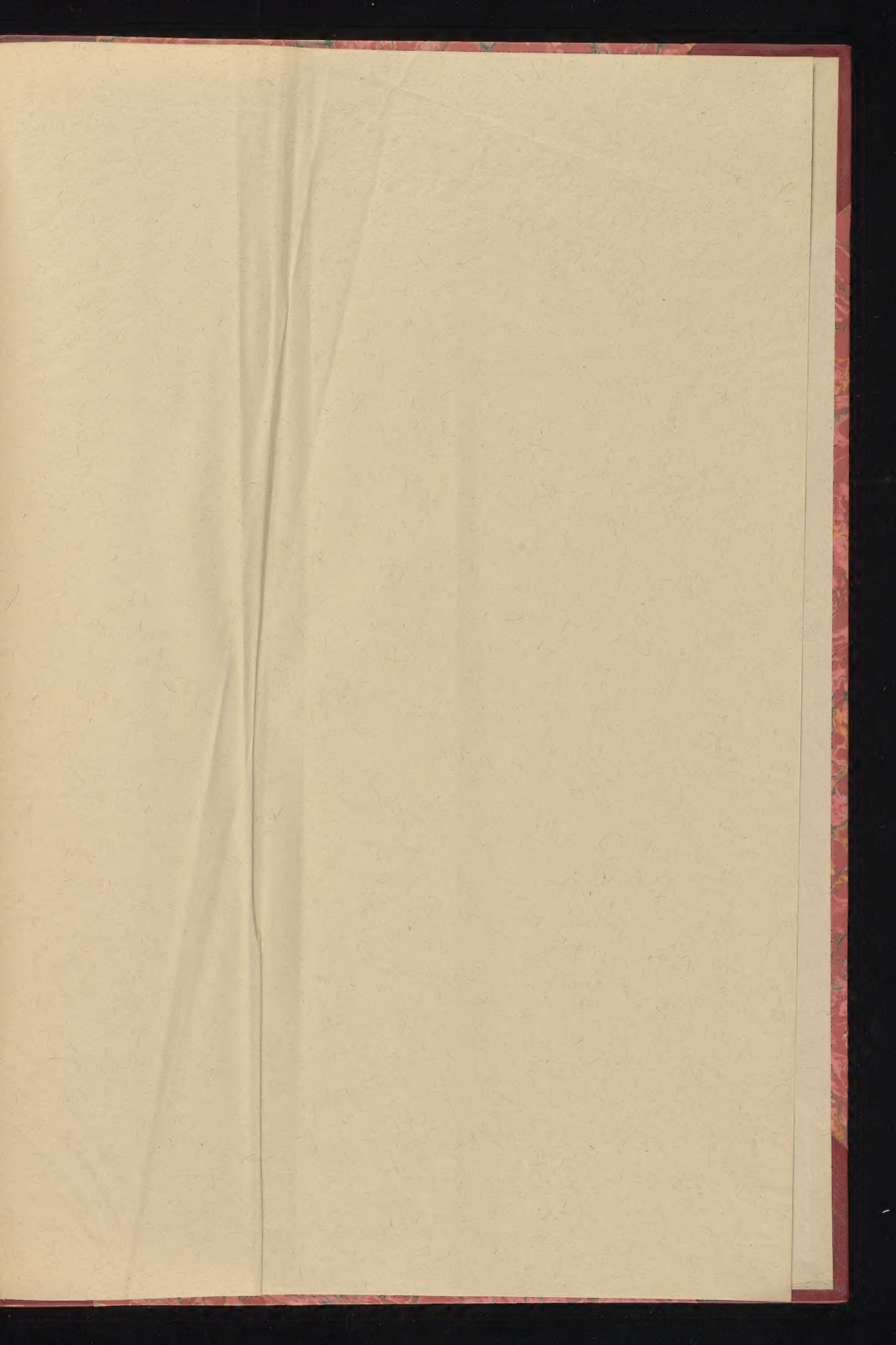
³ *Sp̄s*, *i. e.* as I read it, *spiritus*. Archbishop Ussher in an autograph transcript of a part of these verses seems to have made it *ipseius*. MS. D. 3, 16, fol. 20 b. Trinity College, Dublin.

⁴ *Iuuat* is for *Iubar*.

⁵ The construction seems to be this, "*mihī ascripsit Ithael*," *i. e.* Ithael aided me in writing the book, "*qui dicor Ricemarch gente nostra Sulgeni genitus, necnos Iohannis adelphus*," *i. e.* I, Ricemarch, am called Sulgensson by my family name, and the brother of John.

⁶ I read the contraction *nō*, not as Mr. Westwood has it *non*, but *nomen*. Otherwise I think the line would not scan. *Ithael* is a dis-syllable, *studium cui nomen inaurat*, "whose name gilds, or is an honor to, learning."

⁷ *Psalmorum proceres* signify the initial letters of the Psalms, which, it appears from this line, were illuminated or ornamented by John, the brother of Ricemarch, just mentioned. See specimens of these illuminations in Westwood's *Paleographia*, and in his paper on the Ricemarch Psalter in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*.



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